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YALE STUDIES IN ENGLISH

ALBERT S. COOK, EDITOR

XXVI

SELECT TRANSLATIONS FROM
SCALIGER'S POETICS

BY

FREDERICK MORGAN PADELFORD, PH.D.

*Professor of the English Language and Literature in the
University of Washington*



NEW YORK
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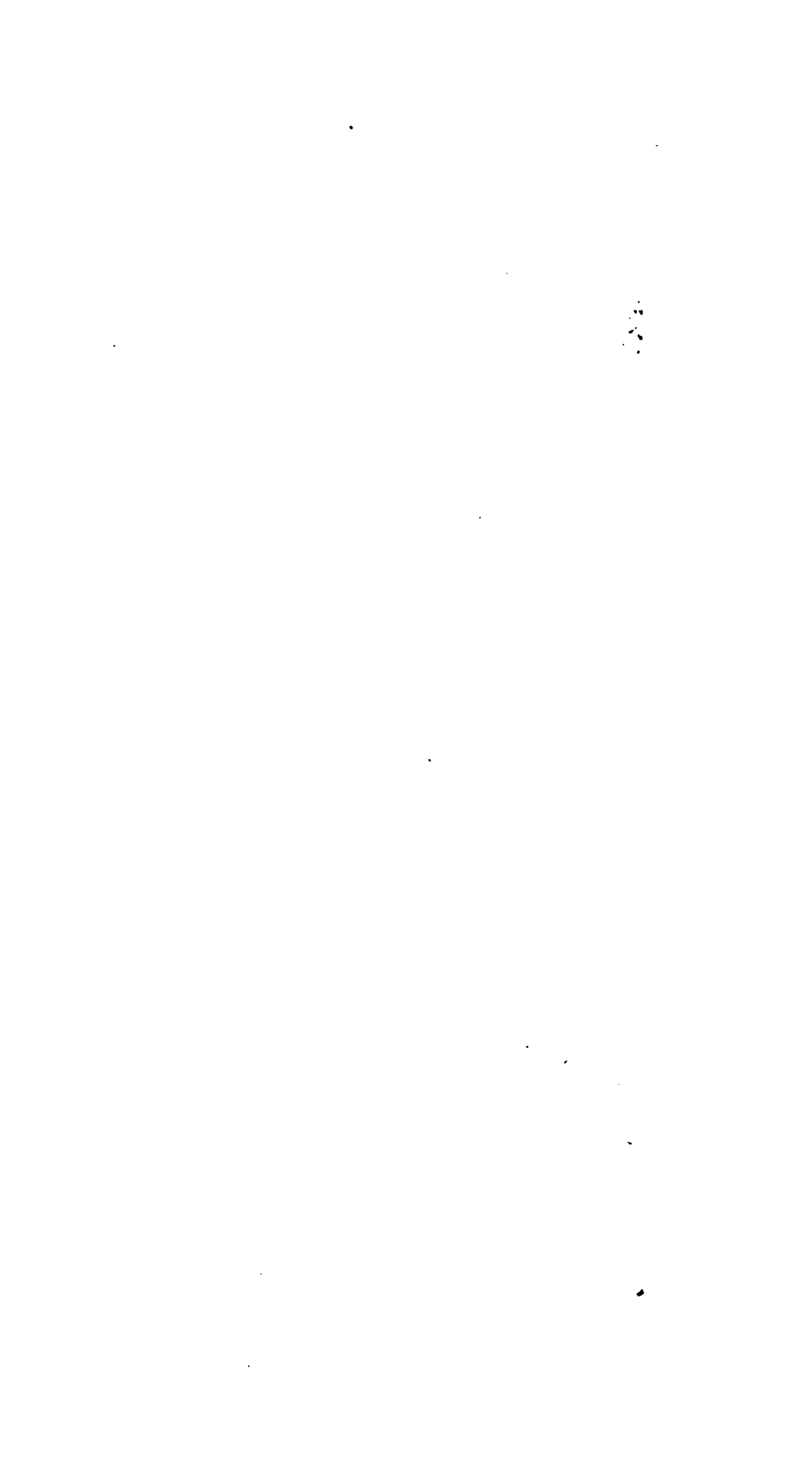
HENRY HOLT AND COMPANY

1905



TO
CHARLES GROSVENOR OSGOOD, JR.

85124



PREFACE

These select translations from Scaliger's *Poetics* are offered to the public in the belief that they will be welcomed by the many students of poetical criticism who, through lack of access to the original, have had to gain their impressions of this notable work from the meagre digests in handbooks and histories of criticism. Scaliger certainly should not be neglected by English students of poetics, for his treatise was not only the literary canon of the later Italian Renaissance, but it exerted a determining influence upon such English men of letters as Sidney and Ben Jonson. Indeed, Jonson strikingly resembled Scaliger in mental temperament, and if the father of classicism in England did not receive his bent from Scaliger, he was at least trained by him.

Those who have studied the *Poetics* will perhaps regret the omission of certain chapters from the translations, and question the judgment shown in the selection. I have tried, however, while keeping the volume within reasonable limits, to include such chapters or portions of chapters as bear most vitally upon the fundamental problems of poetics. Thus from these selections the reader will be able to learn Scaliger's attitude on such subjects as the end of fine art, the nature of imitation, poetic truth, poetry in relation to history and philosophy, the fundamental distinctions between tragedy and comedy, the tragic emotions, and the origin of poetry. He should also be able to determine to what degree Scaliger understood Aristotle, whom he professed to follow, and to decide whether or no in spirit Scaliger was closer to the Attic philosopher than to Horace.

The First Book, which is historical in character, and gives more attention to theory than any of the remaining books,

is generously represented in the translations. The Second Book is altogether taken up with the technical treatment of the classical metres, and is therefore not to the point. Books Three and Four are designed to offer a catalogue and discussion of everything that may be included in the subject-matter of poetry, and an exhaustive treatment of its rhetorical and stylistic principles. The illustrations, which are very full, are throughout taken from Virgil, whom Scaliger regards as the poet *par excellence*. I have selected some chapters from these books because of their intrinsic worth, or their bearing upon later criticism, and have supplemented these chapters by others, to give an idea of the books as a whole. The selection from the comparative criticism of Homer and Virgil is representative of the voluminous Fifth and Sixth Books, and finds a place partly because the reader will wish to see the critic's attempt to apply his own principles, and partly because Scaliger was the first influential writer to use this method of criticism. The Seventh Book is a potpourri of minor matters overlooked in the earlier books. This book was a salve to the exacting conscience of Scaliger, and also helped to keep up the pleasing delusion of his omniscience. For the student of to-day it contains one most interesting chapter, the third, in which Scaliger betrays how completely he failed to understand Aristotle's discussion of character and action.

The Table of Contents has been translated in full, in order that the reader may gain an impression of the *Poetics* in its totality.

The absence of notes may cause some surprise, but the proper annotation of these chapters would be the work of months, if not of years, and I feel that it is better not to delay the appearance of the translation. I am especially inclined to this course as I expect to follow the present volume with others, offering in part or in whole the criticisms of such eminent Renaissance writers as Robortelli, Minturno, Castelvetro, and others.

Any one who has attempted exact work in translating knows that, though the task is a humble one, it brings its own rewards. I must confess, however, to an ulterior purpose in working out these translations, for the preparation of them is largely incidental to acquiring such intimate knowledge of these writers as will enable me to contribute one or more worthy chapters to the history of poetic criticism. Though the contributions that have recently been made to this subject are of real value as pioneer work, there yet remains much to be done.

Another seeming oversight is the lack of an *Introduction*, but in this case the introductory word must be the concluding one, for how can one rightly place Scaliger without intimate knowledge of the writings of his contemporaries?

In my previous volume of translations¹ I attempted to reproduce the styles of the originals, but I have despaired of giving in English the stylistic equivalent of Scaliger's Tacitean Latin, and have merely attempted to express the meaning with clearness. In quotations from the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, and the *Aeneid*, I have followed the translations of Lang, Leaf, and Myers, of Butcher and Lang, and of Lonsdale and Lee, respectively, because these versions have come to be recognized as standard.

I am glad to acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor Ewald Flügel, who generously lent me his copy of the *Poetics*; to Professor Albert S. Cook and Dr. Charles G. Osgood, who have read the proof, and made pertinent suggestions; and to my colleagues of the Classical Department of the University of Washington, Professors Thomas K. Sidey, David Thomson, and Arthur S. Hagget, who have helped me over many a hard stile. Finally, I owe more than I can readily express to Professor George D. B. Pepper, who became interested in my task while spending a winter in my home, and translated many chapters, some of which have been included in this volume. I shall always remem-

¹ *Essays on the Study and Use of Poetry*, by Plutarch and Basil the Great, *Yale Studies in English*.

ber with pleasure the animated discussions in which we tried to find some possible interpretation for Scaliger's perplexing Latin. It is only at Professor Pepper's earnest request that I have omitted his name from the title-page.

F. M. P.

SEATTLE, WASHINGTON,
September 14, 1904.

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THE INDISPENSABILITY OF LANGUAGE, ITS ORIGIN, USES, END, AND CULTIVATION

Everything that pertains to mankind may be classed as necessary, useful, or pleasure-giving, and by an inherent characteristic of all these classes the power of speech was implanted in man from the very beginning, or, as time went on, was acquired. Since man's development depended upon learning, he could not do without that agency which was destined to make him the partaker of wisdom. Our speech is, as it were, the postman of the mind, through the services of whom civil gatherings are announced, the arts are cultivated, and the claims of wisdom intercede with men for man. It is of course necessary to secure from others those things which we need, to give orders to have things done, to prohibit, to propose, to dispose, to establish, and to abolish. Such were the functions of early speech.

Then the usefulness and effectiveness of language were increased by rules governing construction, dimensions, as it were, being given to a rude and formless body. Thus arose the established laws of speech. Later, language was
3 adorned and embellished as with raiments, and then it appeared illustrious both in form and in spirit. As to an undefined body the metric science appoints breadth, angles, and length—the masters of harmony also add proportion, the *ῥυθμοί* of the Greeks—so to an unordered language law first gave the so-called rules. Next, more careful cultivation added knowledge of windings, of valleys and hills, of retreats, of light and shade. To speak figuratively, such cultivation afforded the soldier his necessary armor, the senator his useful toga, or the more elegant citizen his richer pleasure-robe. Not unlike these were the ends which lan-

guage served, since necessity demanded language in the search of the philosophers after truth, utility dictated its cultivation in statesmanship, and pleasure drew it to the theatre. The language of the philosophers, confined to exact, logical reasoning, was necessarily concise and adapted to the subject-matter. On the other hand, in the forum and the camp less precise expression was permissible, governed by the subject, the place, the time, and the audience, and such speaking was called oratory. The third class contains two species, not very unlike, which in common employ narration, and use much embellishment. They differ, however, in that one professes to record the fixed truth, and employs a simple style of composition, while the other either adds a fictitious element to the truth, or imitates the truth by fiction, of course with more elaboration. While, as we have said, they are both equally narrative in character, the name History came to be applied to the former alone, since, I suppose, it was satisfied merely with that field of writing adapted to setting forth actual events. On the other hand, the latter was called Poetry, or Making, because it narrated not only actual events, but also fictitious events as if they were actual, and represented them as they might be or ought to be. Wherefore the basis of all poetry is imitation.

Imitation, however, is not the end of poetry, but is intermediate to the end. The end is the giving of instruction in pleasurable form, for poetry teaches, and does not simply amuse, as some used to think. Whenever language is used, the purpose, of course, is to acquaint the hearer with a fact or with the thought of the speaker, but because the primitive poetry was sung, its design seemed merely to please; yet underlying the music was that for the sake of which music was provided only as a sauce. In time this rude and pristine invention was enriched by philosophy, which made poetry the medium of its teaching. Let it be further said that when poetry describes military counsels, at one time open and frank, at another crafty—the *στρατήγημα* of the Greeks—when

it tells of tempests, of wars, of routs, of various artifices, all is for one purpose: it imitates that it may teach. So in *The Frogs* of Aristophanes, to the one who asked him, 'What merit in a poet can arouse the greatest admiration for him?' Euripides made a good answer when he replied, 'The ability to impress adroitly upon citizens the need of being better men.' Plato was less happy in the *Ion* in saying that a rhapsodist cannot satisfactorily represent military or nautical doings, because such arts are foreign to him. For the rhapsodist will say nothing worse about such things than the poet has written of them, since, as is very well remarked in the same passage, while the poet is the imitator of things, the rhapsodist is he who acts out the imitation, and according as the poet represents, the rhapsodist can reproduce.

Now is there not one end, and one only, in philosophical exposition, in oratory, and in the drama? Assuredly such is the case. All have one and the same end—persuasion; for, you see, just as we were saying above, whenever language is used it either expresses a fact or the opinion of the speaker. The end of learning is knowledge, that is, knowledge, of course, interpreted in no narrow sense. An accurate and simple definition of knowledge is as follows: Belief based either upon conclusive evidence, or upon a loose notion. Thus we say, 'I know that Dido committed suicide because Aeneas departed.' Now we do not know any such thing, but this is popularly accepted as the truth. Persuasion, again, means that the hearer accepts the words of the speaker. The soul of persuasion is truth, truth either fixed and absolute, or susceptible of question. Its end is to convince, or to secure the doing of something. Truth, in turn, is agreement between that which is said about a thing and the thing itself.

By no means are we to accept the popular idea that eloquent speaking, rather than persuasion, is the end of oratory, for the arguments of the grammarians on this

point are not valid. Clearly, if a man does not persuade, this is due to no fault of the art, but either to the issue, which it is beyond the power of the orator to control, wherefore he does not cease to be an orator, or to some defect of his own, which may either reside in his speaking or in the bad cause which he espouses. In this last case he is either no orator, or else he is a knave.

Eloquent speaking certainly cannot be the end, for obviously it is the means to an end, or a mode of the means. An end is not that which serves another end, but that which all serves, and so one uses eloquence that he may persuade. Moreover, you are not the arbiter of your eloquence, but the judge is, and if he does not think you eloquent, not only is your eloquence fruitless, but it is not eloquence at all. Therefore you may go away frustrated in your purpose, even though you have spoken eloquently. Further, it is not possible that both the defendant and the plaintiff should be equally eloquent; in fact it is necessary that one or the other should lose his cause, or should merit losing it. Therefore he will not be your orator whom you have picked out as eloquent.

Finally, in that treatise entitled *Εἰσαγωγικός*, attributed to Galen, and in that other work on the science of medicine, the *Σύστασις*, which is more confidently attributed to him, two kinds of arts are recognized. If Quintilian, by the way, had run across this idea in Plato, from whom Galen borrowed it, he would have changed his theory about the end of oratory. Two kinds there are, then. Arts of the one kind can attain their ends in and of themselves, such as shoemaking, carpentry, and the like; the others are not thus able, as oratory, medicine, and navigation. The latter arts the Greeks denominate *στοχαστικά* (*conjectural*), because, as is stated in the *Philebus*, they proceed, so to speak, by conjecture, not by fixed principle. Now, for my part, I take a different view. Medicine always cures curable diseases, but the physician does not always do so,

because he is embarrassed by many obstacles; wherefore in that case he fails to be a doctor. In fact the physician does not accept an incurable case unless he be careless, or stupid, greedy for fees, or rash. Further, accidents are wont to befall the sick, either through their own instrumentality, or that of their servants, or through some chance happening, as of the atmosphere, the sun, dampness, anger, grief, fear, and the like. Here belong what Hippocrates and other physicians call external agencies—τὰ ἑξωθεν. Indeed, not even nature herself is a perfectly reliable workman, for occasionally she is embarrassed and fails of her end, as when she produces a monstrosity, or brings forth defective bodies.

The orator, then, speaks in the forum that good may be meted to good men, and punishment to evil men; in assemblies and councils that public affairs may be well administered; and in eulogies that we may be won from evil by good example, and may pursue and practice that which is set forth as honest. In this last class, the epideictic, certain invectives are to be included. Other kinds of invectives, however, belong to judicial bodies, such as those uttered in the presence of witnesses; still others to deliberative bodies, as the speeches against Antony and Catiline, and the addresses on consular provinces.

All of these different kinds of speaking have a common end. To be sure, there are those who contend that in judicial proceedings the end is justice; in deliberative proceedings, utility; and in eulogies, honesty; but such are properly rebuked by Quintilian. The ground of the rebuke should be noted rather carefully, for not only do these men reason superficially, but they even contradict themselves. In fact, in another passage they confound utility with honesty. But all that aside, be it observed that utility is the end of all the virtues, wherefore also of justice. And since justice is the righteous payment to a man of that which is his own or its equivalent, justice is the end of deliberative counsels. Justice is even the end of war, for the councils

of war—they are very many—are held for the sake of justice. Finally, if the end of man is virtue, honesty is either a state of mind induced by virtue, or it is the soul of virtue. Of every human office, of every act and thought, honesty will be the end.

We must consider even more carefully than did Quintilian the basis for the classification of the different kinds of speaking. That he might simplify the three-fold division, he classified as follows: cases either are subject for judicial investigation, or are outside of it. The latter relate either to the past or to the future. Those relating to the past are epideictic; those of the future, deliberative. But now who does not appreciate that in judicial proceedings the past is involved? Wherefore it is not possible for the latter to form a sub-species of the judicial. So I would have altered the statement as follows: a case is either in the past or in the future; the latter alone prescribes deliberation; the former divides into the forensic, or judicial, and the epideictic. Although that discerning man, the disciple of the first philosopher, classed them as forensic, deliberative, and epideictic, an accused man is never tried or defended without praise or censure either of a person, an event, an act, a word, or a policy, and in like manner never without deliberation. Indeed, it is deliberated whether to convict or to acquit the defendant. So you see that there cannot be species or genera of cases, because no species of one is able to be part of another species.

Finally, it is improper, as some do, to call speeches of a deliberative nature hortatory, for persuasion is the end of all speaking. What else does an orator do than create confidence, and this, to persuade? Quintilian makes an equally bad mistake when he interprets the word *ἐπιδεικτικός* to mean ostentatious speaking, on the ground that the word usually had this meaning among the Greeks. So far is this from the truth, that the philosophers used it to define the most simple and exact exposition.

Let it be observed, while we are on the subject, that in deliberative and judicial speaking the orator depends upon his audience. Indeed, the accomplishment of that purpose in behalf of which he essays to speak hinges upon the favor of his hearers. Let it be further noted, that in epideictic speaking the case is the opposite of this, inasmuch as the mind of the hearer is surrendered to the speaker. It is, indeed, as if he who adjudges praise were himself relieved from judgment. These points in which we differ from the recognized opinions of the rhetoricians must, from the very nature of my undertaking, be dwelt upon, just as we have dealt more accurately with various other matters. Thus we might say that the translative state could be subsumed under the conjectural,¹ since in both, the fact being conceded, it is a question who is responsible for it. All kinds of speeches have this in common. The orator in the forum debates concerning life, vices, virtues, examining them in the state of quality, and in that in which inquiry is made concerning what is,² just as in councils the question is what is to be preferred. But the philosopher and the poet deal with all such matters in the very same spirit, each in his own person or in that of another. As an illustration of the latter mode, Socrates introduces Diotimas or Aspasia, and Plato brings forward Socrates; and the orator in like manner interjects personifications. If he would eulogize a man, he must needs touch upon the story of his life, his family, his nation; and this allies him with the historian. The historian, on his part, frequently adds a characterization, such as we read of Camillus, Scipio, Hannibal, Jugurtha, and Cicero; and, as it were, intersperses his decrees. But it is only poetry which includes everything of this kind, excelling those other arts in this, that while they, as we have said above, represent things just as they

¹ For these technical terms see Quintilian, Bk 3, chap. 6, especially sections 45 ff.

² The definitive state.

are, in some sense like a speaking picture, the poet depicts quite another sort of nature, and a variety of fortunes; in fact, by so doing, he transforms himself almost into a second deity. Of those things which the Maker of all framed, the other sciences are, as it were, overseers; but since poetry fashions images of those things which are not, as well as images more beautiful than life of those things which are, it seems unlike other literary forms, such as history, which confine themselves to actual events, and rather to be another god, and to create. In view of this fact, its common title was furnished it, not by the agreement of men, but by the provident wisdom of nature. I must express my surprise that when the learned Greeks had most happily defined the poet as the *maker*, our ancestors should be so unfair to themselves as to limit the term to candle-makers, for though usage has sanctioned this practice, etymologically it is absurd.¹

¹ Saintsbury, *Hist. of Crit.*, 2. 71: "This joke requires a little explanation and adaptation to get it into English. The Latin is *miror majores nostros sibi tam iniquos fuisse ut factoris vocem maluerint oleariorum cancellis circumscribere*. In fact, *fattojo* and *fattojano*, if not *fattore*, do mean in Italian "oil-press and oil-presser."

I. 2.

THE NAME POET, THE ORIGIN OF POETRY, ITS
CAUSES, EFFECTS, FORM, AND MATERIAL

The word poet is not, as popularly supposed, derived from the fact that the poet employs the fictitious, but from the fact that he makes verse. Indeed, the propensity for rhythm, the medium of poetry, is an instinct with man. There is in fact a degree of quality and quantity in every vocal movement. Quality is determined by the pitch, whether high or low; quantity by the length of time that the sound is audible; time, in turn, by the extent to which the air is moved; and the air in movement is the sound proper. Again, the child cries before it can speak, and many children cannot go to sleep without crying.

After certain more inspired composers were successful in providing the old forms of poetry with new themes, they were called poets, and they arrogated to themselves, as guardians, the protection of the Muses, the Muses by the inspiration of whom they had discovered what was concealed from others. Those, on the other hand, who lacked this inspiration, and simply composed metrical narratives, were called versifiers.

Plato deduced the name Muses, to whom of course invention is attributed, from a form of the verb *μαίωμαι* (to seek after). Others derived the word from the passive of *μύω* (to be initiated), whence *mysta* (a priest of the mysteries), and *mysterium* (secret rites). This last word implies discernment, and of course discerning judgment was used in the choosing of the sacred mysteries, and in election to the secret order.

Clearly, everything that enters into an intellectual product is the result either of intellection, or of invention, or of judg-

ment, a classification which is better than that made by Cicero in his *Topics*, where it is said that invention has to do with topics only, and judgment only with dialectics, or logical questions. This is clearly wrong, for, on the one hand, one must be as careful to observe the limits of necessity in demonstration as of probability in topics, and these limits are determined by invention; and, on the other, logic is common to all kinds of argumentation, since arguments present themselves as either good or bad, necessary or contingent, and judgment must determine what of these are to be used.

You can now see why the early theologians, the self-styled disciples of the Muses, recognized only two Muses, one *Μελετά*, who invented through meditating, the other *Ποιητά*, who arranged the inventions according to an established or logical method. Next, because they unearthed records relating to the creation, and unknown to the common herd, some poets added a third Muse, whom they appropriately named *Μνήμη*, Memory, and these same men chose to call the Muse which had previously been named *Ποιητά*, *ᾠοιδά*, the Singer, rather than the Maker. But the earlier name is the better, for song is not essential to poetry. Later, those who approved this change, and regarded themselves as even more precise, made a threefold classification of *ᾠοιδά*, in accordance with their notion of early music. They recognized harmony as one element, which they said was dependent upon sound alone; brass, as another element, suggested of course by the instruments; and water as a third, an element which Vitruvius says was first used in the instrument which Ctesibius invented, and called the hydraulic organ. But, if we must analyze, this analysis is far from complete, for sound is produced by striking the air, and the vibration of the air either results from a vibration external to itself, or is air in process of vibration. Then it is clear, is it not, that the flute and pipe and the voice alike employ breathing as an agency. Further, water does not give forth

any sound without air; and finally, harmony, which is the blending of properly related sounds, is clearly generic to all the others.

According to my way of thinking, it seems more reasonable to suppose that in the early times the number of the Muses was determined by the number of those engaged in rendering a piece of music. So when four performers came to take part, many were disposed to recognize a fourth Muse, and when three more instruments were added, the number of the Muses was raised to seven. Finally the number became fixed at nine, and quite properly so, for nine is the perfect number.

Of the significance of there being nine Muses, much traditional musical theory has been handed down, but for the most part it is mere nonsense, not worthy of wise men, for how is the number nine to be accommodated to the octave? Eight notes, not nine, constitute the octave. The ancients were again in error in accounting for the number by the number of the heavens, for as they recognized only eight heavens, the ninth had to be explained as the mother of the rest, or perhaps I should rather say the nurse, or Apollo. The pleasing elegies in which Mimnermus celebrated the daughters of the sky are based on this theory. With like impertinency, Plutarch, in his *Symposiacs*, where he makes many absurd suggestions about letters, mentions as significant the fact that there are as many Muses as letters in the name of the mother Mnemosyne. Forsooth, he would fain have substantiated some trifling Greek theory by a falsehood, and have claimed that the letters in the word Mnemosyne were the capital letters of the names of the Muses, but so long as the facts were against him, he decided to keep still about it.

Again, the theologians advanced the idea that the Muses were the daughters of Jove, on the ground that simultaneously with the creation of human life, of which Jove was the author, harmony, as already stated, came to be. And

for the same reason that the men of an earlier time made Memory one of the three Muses, these theologians made her the mother. It is the idea which our most learned Virgil has expressed with his wonted chasteness and delicacy in that divine verse: 'And indeed you are mindful of the goddess, and you are able to remember her.'

Philosophy also theorizes as to why Mnemosyne is the mother of the Muses. It argues that habit results from repeated acts, memory from habit, propositions from memory, and conclusions from propositions. Thus the arts are said to be handed down. The Greeks testify to this by their familiar expression *νῆς λατρῶν*. For they are not disclosed in writing, but in unwritten secret forms, taught by one generation to another. It is said that this was the custom among the Pythagoreans; historical records prove that it was the method of the Dryads; and we know it is true of the Chaldeans, from the testimony of the word *Cabbala*. With equal logic it was proposed that Eupheme was the nurse of the Muses, inasmuch as good reputation is the reward of the wise. Thus, in the *Laws*, Plato prescribed a bad reputation as a punishment to many men. And the same writer says in the *Ion*, 'That which they themselves are, the poets make others to be.' So, through those arts whereby they render themselves immortal, they immortalize those whom they celebrate in their verse. Thus glories Pindar, thus Theocritus sings, and others after them.

Thus far we have considered the question wholly from its philosophical point of view. Now, with your leave, we should also touch upon certain historical testimonials relating to the antiquity of poetry. The grammarians, with their customary superficiality, argue that poetry is older than prose, because all the writing in temples and on other monuments is metrical. Forsooth, do such records antedate every-day speech? Some think that Pierus, the Macedonian, was the father of the Muses, and gave them

their names. This was suggested by the tradition that he was the first to compose a poem, and was the father of nine daughters. Others prefer the tradition that the Egyptian Osiris was the father of the Muses, and, as he was identified with Apollo, this coincided with the Greek tradition.

Further, many of the surnames of the Muses are borrowed from those localities in which poems first sprang up, or where poetry was early cultivated or venerated. Thus it is said that Pierus was the first poet and sang to the Thespians, and another tradition says that in Helicon, Otus and Ephialtes, the first sons of Aloeus, originated the divine art for the Muses, in consequence of which the Muses are called Thespiades and Heliconides. Among the Oscans the Muses were called Camenae, because of their prophetic utterances. Also, because of their superior genius and their rapid utterance, they were denominated 'winged'; as Aristotle says, 'Poetry is the product of a genius or of one inspired.' For this reason Homer calls words also winged.

It is related in legendary lore that, at the instigation of Juno, the Sirens contended with the Muses in song, and lost; that then the Muses tore the feathers from the wings of the vanquished ones, and crowned their own heads therewith. Again, since the Muses seemed to be the promoters of a more refined and noble life, a life characterized by that satisfaction which resides in temperate pleasure, they were conceived as the companions of the Graces, or as their kin. This pleasure of which I speak is just the idea expressed by χάρις and χαίρειν (*grace and have thy pleasure*; often used as a greeting, equivalent to *be of good cheer, hail, welcome*, etc.), words which usage employs for the second expression of well-wishing in letters and greetings, although Plato prefers εὖ πράττειν (*to bring one's affairs to a good issue*). Pleasure or gladness is a mental condition enjoyed by a perfectly healthy person; it is occasioned by what the philosophers are pleased to call an adequate object of desire. Through poetry, indeed, the spirit is turned back upon itself,

and it draws forth from its inner sanctuary, which is, indeed, an inexhaustible spring, that which inheres therein from the divine life.

That the Graces and pleasure and the Muses and good health are related, may be gathered from the oracle which Plutarch records as delivered to the Argive Telesilla. Though of noble birth, she was afflicted by disease, and, as I understand it, when she found that it was beyond medical aid, she was constrained to seek aid from the gods. The response was that 'she would only be restored to health if she cultivated the Muses.' She accordingly devoted herself to their service, and in a short time was not only restored to health, but endowed with vigor and the spirit of a general. So the Muses not only sing of arms, but also bestow them, as the career of Tyrtæus also testifies. Then, as tradition has it, the Athenians made Phrynichus their leader because he performed well the Pyrrhic dance. Indeed, they used rhythm in their military exercises. Telesilla made use of this same oracular aid, mentioned above, against Cleomenes the conqueror. When this Lacedemonian king was attempting to take the city of Argos, she so inspired the women that they thronged the battlements, and drove him away with great loss. And when another king named Demaratus was actually within the city, she expelled him by force of arms.

We may make a threefold classification of poets, according to poetical inspiration, age, and subjects. Plato first, and then Aristotle, said that there are diversities of inspiration, for some men are born inspired, while others, born ignorant and rude, and even averse to the art, are seized on by the divine madness, and wrested from their lowliness. It is the work of the gods, who, though divine, use even these as their servants. Thus Plato himself, in the *Ion*, calls such men the interpreters and expounders of the gods. Wherefore the dictum expressed in the *Republic*, which some crude and insensible men would construe to the exclu-

sion of poets from the republic, should be taken less seriously, for though he condemns certain scurrilous passages in the poets, we are not on that account to ignore those other passages which Plato cites times out of mind in support of his own theories. Plato should remark how many impertinent and low stories he himself employs, what filthy thoughts this Greek rogue often forces upon us. Surely the *Symposium*, the *Phaedrus*, and other such monstrous productions, are not worth reading.

The poets invoke the Muses, that the divine madness may imbue them to do their work. Of these divinely possessed ones, two classes are to be recognized. The one class are those to whom the divine power comes from above, with no mental effort on their part except the simple invocation. Hesiod classed himself in this category, and Homer is placed there by universal consent. The other class is aroused by the fumes of unmixed wine, which draws out the instruments of the mind, the spirits themselves, from the material parts of the body. Horace said that Ennius was such a poet, and such we consider Horace himself. Tradition says the same of Alcaeus and Aristophanes. Alcman did not escape such censure, and Sophocles applied it to Aeschylus: 'Wine,' he said, 'not Aeschylus, was the author of his tragedies.'

Again, poets may be divided into three classes, according to the age in which they wrote. First, there was that pristine, crude, and uncultivated age, of which only a vague impression remains. No name survives, unless it be that of Apollo, as the originator of poetry. Then there is the second and venerable period, when religion and the mysteries are first sung. Among the poets of this period are numbered Orpheus, Musaeus, and Linus; Plato includes Olympus also. Of the third period Homer is the founder and parent, and it includes Hesiod and other such writers. If it were not for historical records, one could fancy that Musaeus was later than Homer, for he is more polished and

refined. Aelian states that Oroebantius of Troezen, and Dares the Phrygian, flourished before Homer, and that in Homer's time the *Iliad* of Dares was held in esteem. The same author has it that Syager the poet even antedated Musaeus and Orpheus, and that he was the first to write of the Trojan war.

The third classification is according to subject-matter. This the Greeks call *ὑποκείμενον*; our uncultivated philosophers, most correctly, subject; and the Latin philosophers, somewhat inappositely, argument. Of this class of poets there are as many kinds as there are styles of subjects treated. Yet for the sake of treatment, the poets may be classed under three principal heads. The first is that of the religious poets. Such are Orpheus and Amphion, whose art was so divine that they are believed to have given a soul to inanimate things. The second is that of the philosophical poets, and these again are of two sorts—natural, as Empedocles, Nicander, Aratus, and Lucretius; and moral, including the political, as Solon and Tyrtaeus; the economical, as Hesiod; and the general, as Phocylides, Theognis, and Pythagoras.

Now all that we have been saying may be equally well applied to women authors. They too merit praise. Such authors are Sappho; Corinna, the mistress of Pindar; Hedyle, the mother of the Samian or Athenian poet Hedylus, who excelled in iambic poetry; Megalostrata, whom Alcman loved, and others.

I leave it to the judgment of each one to determine whether or no the poetry of Martius and of the Sibyls should be referred to such categories as the above. My preference is not to do so, for they do not narrate past events, but predict future ones. This part of theology is not simply learning about the gods, but actual utterance of the things disclosed by the gods.

As for our poetry, Gellius is authority for the statement that it was born during the Second Punic War. Let me

give his own choice words: 'In the Second Punic War, with winged step the Muse bore herself to the warlike, rugged race of Romulus.' On the other hand, it is commonly received that Livius Andronicus wrote his dramas before Naevius, who gave his to the public in the year 519 (A. U. C.).

Now that the poets are enumerated and classified, certain questions may receive attention. Why does Horace question whether or not comedy is poetry? Forsooth, because it is humble, must it be denied the title of poetry? Surely an unfortunate ruling! So far from comedy not being poetry, I would almost consider it the first and truest of all poetry, for comedy employs every kind of invention, and seeks for all kinds of material.

Another question: Was Lucan a poet? Surely he was. As usual, the grammarians deny this, and object that he wrote history. Well now! produce a pure history. Lucan must differ from Livy, and the difference is verse. Verse is the property of the poet. Then who will deny that all epic poets go to history for their subjects? History, sometimes delineated only in semblance, sometimes idealized, and always with changed aspect, is made the basis of poetry. Is not this the practice of Homer? Do we not do this in the tragedies themselves? Such is the practice of Lucan. Instance the image of the country offering itself to Caesar, the spirit called forth from Hades, and other such episodes. Wherefore, indeed, it seems to me that it would be better to give the title of poet to Livy than to deny it to Lucan. For as the tragic poets base their plays upon true events, but adapt the actions and speeches to the characters, so Livy and Thucydides insert orations which were never recognized by those to whom they were attributed. Moreover, although Aristotle exercised this censure so severely that he would refuse the name of poet to versifiers, yet in practice he speaks differently, and says: 'As Empedocles poetically wrote (*ἐποήσεν*)'; so he even calls Empedocles, who feigned not at all, a poet.

Some writers, among whom is Plutarch, make a distinction between *poesis* and *poema*, calling the former a legitimate work, and the latter an insignificant one, and citing the *Iliad* as *poesis*, and the *Margites* as *poema*. Surely this is mischievous. For *poema* is the very work itself, the material, I might say, which is used in the making. *Poesis*, on the other hand, is the plan and form of the poem. From the three persons of a verb we get the three words, *poema*, *poesis*, and *poeta*: thus *poema*: πεποίημαι (*I have made myself, or I have been made*); *poesis*: ποιήσαι (*you, etc.*); *poeta*: ποιήται (*he, etc.*). You find an exact analogy in εἰρημα (*an invention*), εὑρεσις (*a discovery*), and εὑρετής (*an inventor*). So *poema* may be applied to the *Iliad*, *poeta*, to Homer, and *poesis* to the form and plan of the *Margites*.

The poetical art is a science, that is, it is a habit of production in accordance with those laws which underlie that symmetrical fashioning known as poetry. So it has three elements—the material, the form, and the execution. In the higher criticism, a fourth element is recognized, the end, that is imitation, or the ulterior end, instruction—for if Cicero uses the word guidance (*rectio*), may I not be allowed the same privilege?

Poems differ in the objects of imitation, the means, and the manner. Ovid imitates the same *Medea* in the *Metamorphoses* that Seneca does in his tragedy, but the verses whereby they are imitated are different, and since one is a dramatic presentation, and the other receives an epic setting, the mode or manner is different. The *Aeneid* and the *Eclogues* use the same medium, but differ in the objects of imitation and the manner. The *Eclogues* and comedies, again, agree in the manner of imitation, but differ in objects and media.

I. 3.

CLASSIFICATION OF THE KINDS OF POETRY

Now, to take up the modes of poetry, we find that one is simple narration, as in the poems of Lucretius. The Greeks call this mode διηγηματικός, ἐξηγηματικός, or ἀποδιηγηματικός (*descriptive, narrative*). A second mode is conversation, such as is employed in comedies. The original Greek term for this was διαλογητικός (*conversational*), and the word was most accurately employed, for it was usage that yielded the derived meaning of disputation. In fact, διάλεκτος has no other meaning than conversation. As said above, we learn through the transmission of ideas from one mind to another, and the prefix διά signifies *transmission*, as in διαπρό (*right through*) and in διαμπερές (*through and through*). In line with this, those loose discourses which reproduce the conversation of a group of men—not of two only, as the grammarians falsely assert—were called dialogues. Alexamenos, the Teian, is regarded as the inventor of the dialogue, just as Aristotle said, and he ennobled it with illustrious themes and divine utterance. Lucian, in turn, degraded it to mimes and lascivious jesting. And just as in the process of development this loose style of speaking was adapted to metre, and used in plots, so Crates the Athenian in turn was the first to throw off these chains, and to produce dramas without metre.

This second mode, the διαλογητικός, was also called dramatic (δραματικός), from its gestures and acting; 'dramatic' being from the Greek verb δρᾶν, meaning 'to do.' Nor is this etymology contradicted by the fact that some parts in a drama are delivered by actors who are seated, for the epithet 'dramatic' was determined by the predominating characteristic, and then too, there is some action even when

an actor is seated. Since the actor, who is an imitator, is said 'to do,' some were not afraid to call this mode imitative, though the same men would have recognized imitation as the end of poetry in general.

There is also a mixed mode, in which the poet employs both narration and conversation. The Greeks happily termed this *μικτός* (*mixed, compound*), and less accurately, *κοινός* (*common*), for a compound is made up of parts, but no one would say that the compound is common to the parts; the parts themselves constitute the whole. It is clearly quite another case when we say that a genus is common to its species. The genus is indeed a part of its species, comprehending them by predication, not by inclusion. So we have adopted the term modes, not the term species, because modes both join together and compound, while species do not.

Of dramatic poetry there are many subdivisions, and we shall at once treat them in their proper chapters. The earliest form is the pastoral, the latest is comedy and its offspring, tragedy. The epic is a mixed form, and because it is catholic in the range of subject-matter, is the chiefest of all forms.

Now in our treatment of poetry we can follow either the order of excellence or the chronological order. The most excellent kinds of poetry are hymns and paeans; next rank songs (*mele*), odes, and scolia, which are sung in the praise of brave men. The epic, in which are both heroes and lesser men, comes third, and then follows tragedy along with comedy. Comedy, however, will receive a fourth place by itself. Thereafter come satires, exodia, interludes, jests, nuptial songs, elegies, monodies, incantations, and epigrams. If we follow the chronological order, we shall find that the earliest form is likewise the mildest, the most naive, and the most inept. But it is best to make this our starting-point, and to follow the suggestion of nature, which derives the more complex forms from the simpler.

I. 4.

PASTORAL POETRY

The earliest kind of poetry was of course the product of one of the earliest stages of life, either the pastoral stage, the hunting, or the agricultural. Now because the hunter is intent upon his work, he is little inclined to words; we do not think it good luck to speak while hunting, much less would singing be in place. But the shepherd and the husbandman practised the art of song. As Varro states, and Thucydides implies, the pastoral stage preceded the agricultural; and the fact that the farmer lives a life of toil, but the shepherd of leisure, is additional evidence. Moreover, rhythmical utterance seems to have been learned in the field, either through an impulse caught from nature, or through imitation of the songs of the little birds, or of the sighing of the trees. Leisure is indeed the parent of luxury and wantonness.

This leisurely life, then, produced two species of alluring song: the one, when, retired with a maiden beneath the summer shade, the lover would sing his amours to satiety—the so-called poetic monologue (*monoprosopos*); the other, when either by accident or design those would meet between whom love or hate had been aroused, or who were emulous of one another, or jealous because of a song, a flock, or a maiden.

Of this last kind there were two sub-species. In the one, the verses were without fixed metre or rule, and because this poetry was vulgar, lawless, and rude, and, in distinction from the later style, purely a product of nature and not at all of art, it had no name. In the other, the emulous sentiments were clothed in verses of similar structure, and regular in metre. From its nature, this variety was called

amebean, that is, alternating. Of this, the poet said, 'You will sing in responses; the Muses loved the alternating verse.' Although the verb ἀμείβεσθαι (*to change one with another, do in turn or alternately*) is not limited in Homeric usage to the meaning of responsive utterance, the original idea of the word was clearly 'to change.' Things to be exchanged must be equal, and so, as is noted in the *Origins*, the word assumed the broader meaning 'to respond.' This is analogous to the history of the words 'wealth' and 'pay,' which have come to be regarded as synonyms for 'goods' and 'work.'

Because the shepherds based their poetry upon imitation, from the word εἶδος, meaning 'shape' or 'image,' they derived a diminutive εἰδύλλιον, 'idyll,' which they applied to short, or modest and unpretentious, poems. Let us also note the origin of the word 'eclogue.' When certain superior poets became disgusted with some of their hurried productions—how often does the wise writer have this experience!—they impulsively destroyed them, and kept only an anthology of their better work. From this practice of 'picking out' or 'selecting' came the word eclogue, which bears this meaning in the Greek.

Pastoral poetry has many themes, but love seems to have been the earliest. There are many reasons why this should have been the case. In the first place, that the perpetuity of species might not be endangered, passion was implanted in all animals at the creation. Then, both youths and maidens without distinction acted as shepherds, and were thus not only thrown much together, but easily inflamed by the example of the flocks; as Theocritus most happily words it: 'The goatherd, when he marks the young goats at their pastime, looks on with yearning eyes, and fain would be even as they.' And finally, amorous delights were actually deified in Venus, and of these delights song is the most simple and engaging adjunct. I will not dwell on the thought that youths who lived on milk and meat, who were light-hearted,

fearless, and susceptible, would, when tempted by the favoring season and retirement, be easily enticed into love. This result was especially encouraged by their nude or lightly-clad condition, for though the virgins were clothed, yet their ordinary garment showed the bare thigh, as its name *φαινομηρίς* indicates. Such is the garment shown in the picture of the Nymphs, where both the arms and thighs are visible. I suppose that the origin of this garment is to be attributed to the goat-skins, which hung from the shoulders, covered the loins, and were strapped around the front of the leg. A similar description will be found in the proper place in my chapter on satirical poetry. What then could be expected of these youth, care-free as they were, well-fed, with bodies which constant exercise served to make robust and vigorous?

First of all, then, there was the amorous monologue. Next came the *oaristys* (Greek *οαριστής*, *familiar converse*, *fond discourse*), in which a lover and maiden either told of their love for one another, or complained of unreciprocated love. Such are the *Idylls* of the most graceful and exquisite Theocritus. Afterward, either desire for fame, greed of reward, or envious detraction, prompted the use of the poetic dialogue.

The names of various pastorals are also derived from the different kinds of herding. Though *ποιμήν* (*a herdsman*) originally meant any kind of a herdsman, usage confined it to the shepherds. So a derivative, *ποιμενικά* (*of or pertaining to shepherds*), meant those songs with which the shepherds were wont to entertain themselves or others. *Αιπόλεια* (*herds of goats*) and *αίγοπόλεια* (*herds of goats*) were the songs of the goatherds; *συνβότεια* (*of or pertaining to swineherds*), the songs of the swineherds; and *βουκολικά* (*of or pertaining to cattle*), the songs of the neatherds. The last variety is held to be the most noble of all, and yet the Libyans, the Scythians, the Parthians, and the Mysians, not to say the Persians, the Arabians, and

the Numidians, esteem those who tend the studs of horses worthy of chief praise. The Greeks have no name for such herdsmen, and yet in Thessaly the horseman was in the highest favor, and in Sicily itself, the parent of bucolic poetry, the herding of horses, peculiarly favored by the natural conditions, was so cultivated by the natives that the Sicilians were thought second to very few peoples, if to any, in this occupation.

It is a mistaken tradition that places the origin of the pastoral in the Persian period, for it is much older. I will tell a story relative to this point, and let you judge for yourself. When the Greeks were reduced in war by the Persians, the rites of Diana Caryatis, customarily performed by virgins, were interrupted. Thereupon some of the country folk took the temple-office upon themselves, and sang the praises of Diana in their own peculiar little songs. Then, since either religion gave these songs the hearty sanction of its approval, or the verses prevailed by their own charm, what had been an accident became a custom, and the custom became an established rite. The surname Caryatis is taken from a village of Laconia called Caryae, which has also given its name to a style of dancing, *καρυατίζειν*, learned from the local heroes, Castor and Pollux. To-day, the names of the dance and of the village are forgotten—yea, more, the very names of Sparta and Lacædemon are unknown—and the Turks call the village Misitra.

Not only are the Greeks at variance as to the time when the pastoral was first sung, but also as to the place. A good many think that it originated in Sicily, and tell this story: When Orestes was bearing away the image of Diana stolen from the Tauri, a Scythian people, he was admonished by the oracle to bathe in the water of seven streams which issued from one source. In accordance with the oracle, when he had come into Italy he found such streams near Rhegium, and bathed. Thereafter he set out for Sicily, and, in the village which Strabo calls Tyndaris, erected the

statue of the goddess, and established worship with musical features, modeled upon the service of the people from whom the image had been stolen. It is not surprising that Orestes was driven thence by the Greeks, and next he took refuge in a grove hard by Aricia, on the right of the Appian way. There he again instituted the solemn worship of the Tauric Diana, in accordance with the Scythian ritual.

There is still another tradition. Once Syracuse was the scene of a disastrous domestic brawl, and the survivors began a massacre. Thereupon steps were taken to placate Diana, who was held to be the author of this domestic calamity, and many of the people brought gifts to her temple. The gifts and the songs appeased the goddess, and the beginning of a yearly festival was thus made. From this episode Diana earned the surname Lya (Greek λύη *dissolution, separation, hence faction, sedition*). Now I take it that the right explanation of the epithet is just the opposite of this: we use the word *lues* (*a plague, pestilence*) of a disease which unlooses or undoes our bodies, and so they gave the name to the goddess because she stirred up the intestine discord. Still others, while they recognize and employ the surname, give a third explanation: Before Hiero came to the throne, the island was stricken with a sore disease, and to placate the wrath of the goddess, field-sports were frequently held, and therefore Diana was called Lya because she unloosed (*luisset*) the disease.

Some employ the surname Phaselis, rather than Lya. This name had been transplanted from Greece by Antiphemus. It came about as follows: The brother of Antiphemus, Lacijs of Argos, sent a colony into the mountain districts of Colophon under the leadership of Mopsus. This Mopsus purchased land from the native shepherdess Cylabra, and built a town called Phaselis. Later, Antiphemus led a colony to Sicily under divine auspices, bearing his household gods. There he built the city of Gela and celebrated the sports of Diana, and in memory of Mopsus gave the

goddess this surname of Phaselis. Then, because of this, the name Mopsus is often met with in pastoral poetry. Certainly the older writers agree that poetry of pastoral character was met with in Sicily, and called *βωκολιασμός* (*a singing of pastorals*). Derivatives or variants of this title may also be found in Theocritus.

The early shepherds were wont to contend for prizes. These prizes were not vases, cows, or goats, as among their luxurious and wealthy descendants, but bread-cakes made in the image of animals. Sometimes the shepherds sang while sitting down, sometimes while standing, or again while leading the flocks. They were furnished with a bag called *πανσπερμία*, which contained seeds of all kinds, with wine in goatskin bottles, and with a staff, the *pedum* of the Romans. Of the staff the Greeks had several varieties. There was the *καλάβροψ*, so called from its use in governing the flocks, the *λαγωβόλον* (originally *a staff or stick for flinging at hares*), originally used in venery, and the *κορόνη* (*a club, often shod with iron*), a kind of thick-headed club. There was also the knotty club which Virgil describes, and which we even see to-day, a club made of blackthorn or of cornel wood, and adorned with brass rings. The contestants were also crowned, and we even read of their wearing the horns of deer. The victor received the bread, the bag, and the wine, from the defeated one, and therewith made an offering to the Muses. The vanquished departed into the suburbs and villages, and was not allowed to enter the city. Since he had rightly forfeited his own in the contest, he was expected to beg bread, though begging was contrary to the law. The victor would enter the city of Syracuse, in which he could remain as long as he pleased, and instead of having to beg bread on the strength of a defeat, would sprinkle the thresholds of the citizens with sacrificial fruits or with wine, and offer libation with the following prayer: 'May good fortune be yours, and yours good health. This we bear from the goddess, and she, her

illustrious self, invoked it.' From this we may gather that song and pantomime were originally used in allaying disease, since men professed to gain health by using magical formulas. Later, acting passed over to the stage, and was followed as a business. So men who called themselves *βουκολιασταί* (*pastoral poets*), or *λυδισταί* (*pantomimists*), went about the provinces and performed in Italy, and from that time the voice of the actor has never been silent in the land.

Preëminent among the poets of this period was Daphnis, who was made the subject of such hero-worship that the shepherds vied in celebrating his disaster, and the poet even honored the tomb of his brother with divine verses in the name of Daphnis. Daphnis was the son of Mercury and a Nymph, and at birth they gave him this name; indeed, the story goes that he was born in a laurel grove. He had a herd of cows from the same blood as those Sicilian cattle which Homer tells us were sacred to the sun. This Daphnis was passionately loved by a Nymph, who threatened him with blindness if he should violate her affection by other amours. Somewhat thereafter a princess fell desperately in love with him, because of his matchless beauty, and when she found other means of no avail, she seduced him with wine. So the pastoral poets sang of his misfortune. Tradition has it that the first poem on this theme goes back to Stesichorus, the poet of Himera.

The shepherds had a musical instrument, which the Greeks called *σὺριγξ* from its sound, and the Romans *fistula*, from the nature of the opening. The fistula was made either of cane, or of the hemlock-stock. At first it was an instrument of one pipe, but later two were fastened together with string and wax. I am of the opinion that stiff hair, which could be so easily secured, was also used in place of wax. Finally there came to be seven pipes, which were of different sizes, but graded in the shape of a wing, so that they were even at the end on which they were

played, and uneven at the other. The following verse describes the material of these pipes, the manner of their construction, and defines the number: 'I have an instrument composed of seven unequal hemlock-stalks, the fistula.' 'Unequal' does not refer to the number, for the word 'seven' determines that, but to the length. Further the material is said to be hemlock. Certainly Servius was mistaken in saying that *cicuta* (*hemlock*) means the internodes of the corn stalks, for it is simply the shrub which we all know by its hollow stock and soft marrow. Our Roman poet was content in his modesty with the early instrument of seven tubes, but the Greek used as many as he pleased; thus you read in Theocritus—whether or not Theocritus is the real author of the passage is elsewhere discussed—of a many-tubed pipe. The later Romans made most absurd paintings of this instrument, by representing all of the tubes as leading into a bag, and they made this blunder because they did not understand—and no more do I—how one was able with quickness and accuracy to run over the mouths of the different tubes, so far apart as they were. These paintings represented the instrument popularly known as the organ, which took its rise from the syrinx episode, and which is an instrument superior in construction and tone. The poet attributed the invention of the fistula to Pan. His companions were beings of a like race called Satyrs, or sometimes, Tityri, a name which the Dorians gave them because they played a pipe called the *τιτύριον* (*shepherd's pipe*). Aelian, as well as others, relates that the Tityri were both the companions and allies of Liber Pater on his expedition, and he says that this two-formed race got their name from their whistling. The Gauls and the adjacent islanders were in the habit of making pipes from reeds, while others again would make them from oaten stocks. The African Numidians did not use the pipe, but played the flute, while pasturing their mares. This instrument was made by peeling the bark from a laurel branch, and so cutting the wood as to produce a shrill whistle, resembling the whinny of a horse.

There were, indeed, many kinds of rustic songs. Thus some related to the harvesting, and others to the vintage. The peasants used one tune and one theme when they were standing, another when they were seated, and still a third, as we were saying, when they led the flocks. In Theocritus' address to the travellers we read of the song called *πορευτικός* (*fit for going on foot, walking*), which was sung as the flocks were attended to the fields or to the fold. In the songs of the neatherd the dogs were incited to beware of the crafty wolf, and in the songs of the shepherds the ram, as the leader, was encouraged, and promised fairer pastures another day. All of these songs were seasoned with jest and merriment, and introduced the stories of the shepherd's own love, or of that of a friend or rival.

The invention of the *πορευτικός* is attributed to Diomus, the Sicilian poet, of whom Epicharmus made mention in his drama *Halcyon* and in *Ulysses Shipwrecked*. We have such a song in the poem from which the following is taken: 'Wander far, my goats, along these precipices, to the green clover fields and the moist willows.' Of this class was the poem composed by Eriphanis, the poetess, when consumed with love for the hunter Menalcus. The story has it that she followed him through many a wood, ever singing, and gave voice to her frenzy in a pastoral called a *νόμιον* (substantive from *νόμος*, *a, on, of shepherds*), of which these few words, 'The tall oaks, O Menalcus,' are extant. While they leisurely moved about in the summer shade or basked in the winter sun, the shepherds talked of the seasons, or prayed that they might not be exposed to perils or dire events. They urged the males of the flock to mate, the females to bear young; they expressed their love in vows, in prayers, in laments, or in the consolation of sweet converse; and they lauded the bull or the ram that won in the fight. They strove over the virtues of a friend, the animosity of an enemy, or the detraction of a rival. In short, the common material of this style of pastoral was praise and blame, contentions and upbraidings.

Similar to the πορευτικός is the song of Hippolytus in Seneca's tragedy, in which he urges on his dogs. Yet Seneca merely employed it for its stage effect, for, as we said above, we regard silence as a heaven-given law in hunting. Theocritus also described solemn processions, and other writers, hymns, paeans to Hercules, and the like.

Contrary to the popular conception, Virgil represented Silenus as, so to speak, the embodiment of universal nature and a prophet. Well have we said that of all the men of old that divine man was the most learned, for such is the case. Indeed, the more learning a man has himself, the more he appreciates the erudition of Virgil. Thus, in another Eclogue is the line, 'If we sing of the trees, the trees should be worthy of the consul.' Now it is traditionally known that the care of the trees was a consular duty. Thus, we read in Tranquillus' history of the Caesars, that in the decree of the Senate respecting the office of the confiscated consulship, after the mention of the trees, occurred the words: 'The trees should be worthy of consular attention.' So while the Senate lowered the dignity of the consul to the humbleness of the trees, by his fresh and dignified verses the poet equally exalted the trees to the eminence of the consulship.

In his chapter on Midas, king of Phrygia, based on Theopompus' history, Aelian recounts many unusual opinions and beliefs of the ancients, and in this connection mentions Silenus. The tradition was that another world exists, apart from this, wherein are many things which should be sought, and that since these seem absurd to an enlightened society, Silenus refined them in his songs by that heaven-given skill of his. But Theopompus was not the only Greek who thought that Silenus had a divine understanding of nature and prophecy, for, as Plato points out very clearly in his *Symposium*, it was the belief of the Athenians and of other Greeks as well.

In the vintage, Bacchus was worshiped. The songs in his praise were called ἐπιλήνια (*of the wine-press, or vin-*

tage), and were sung during the festivities at the wine-press. Tibullus has left us a most exquisite little poem of this type, in one of the elegies. During the harvest the names of Ceres and Libera were constantly upon the lips of the swains, and Tibullus has also embodied one of these harvest-songs in a brilliant and refined elegy. Such a song was called ἱουλος (*down, a corn-sheaf, hence a harvest-song*), a word which is extant in the line *πλείστον οὔλον ἱεῖ, οὔλον ἱεῖ*, 'Many a harvest-song let there be, many a song.' The ancients also used this word to define an ear of grain, because of its fine husk and beard, and it was also applied to wool, on account of the infinite number of little threads in its texture. This explains the tradition that the songs of good omen, sung by the wool-spinners, were called by this same name. Theocritus records another song of the reapers, called *λυτιέρσης*. The story goes that Lityerses, the son of Midas king of Phrygia, dwelt in Celaenae, and was insanely devoted to the pursuits of agriculture. So extreme was his zeal that he made a practice of inviting wayfarers to a feast, and then compelling them, with lashes for the tardy ones, to work with him in the fields. Some add that when these laborers fainted from fatigue, he would first kill them, cutting off their heads, and then would conceal the bodies among the sheaves, accompanying his deed with songs. One story is to the effect that he died from over-work, carried away by his zeal; another, that Hercules received the customary invitation as he was passing along, but that he overcame Lityerses, and threw his dead body into the Maeander. Chronology, however, contradicts this last, for Midas and Hercules did not live at the same time. Whatever his death may have been, the fact remains that the country folk composed a threnody to solace his father, and that the Phrygians who came after them sang this song at the annual harvest-offering. According to another story, the Mariandyni, a people neighboring on Bithynia, followed a similar custom at the harvest-season, in honor of Borcos. Borcos, or Bormus, as sometimes written, was a

boy who was sent to fetch water for the reapers, and was never seen again. A tradition which, though only transmitted orally by the shepherds, is more reasonable than some written records, is to the effect that he perished in the summer while hunting. The fact that he was the son of Upius, the king, the father also of Iollas and Mariandynus, lends credence to this tradition, for it is not to be supposed that a prince acted as sutler to the shepherds. Though one may well question whether Lityerses in the above story was the son of King Midas—in fact some accounts deny that he was—yet I would defend the tradition that Borcos was a prince. Let it be remembered that it was a common practice among the ancients for the princes to be given charge of the herds; instance Paris and Ganymede. The song called Borimos, or Borcos if you will, was named after the lad. It was not unlike the song called Adonima, or Adoniasmos, or Adoniaoedes, which the Egyptians sang in memory of Adonis. The tale of Adonis, and the ceremony in his memory, is familiar from the pages of Theocritus and others. Another song of like character called *maneros*, or ἡ μανέρος, as Pausanias writes it in his note-book, took its name from the inventor of agriculture, who was also a disciple of the Muses. In Sicily there was a poem called Persephate, which was yearly sung in commemoration of the search of Ceres for Libera. In like vein Theocritus relates the story of Hercules' search for Hylas. There remains to mention one other style of pastoral, which was chanted in concert, in thanksgiving to the Hours. Theodoric the Colophonian is the reputed author of this variety. These Hours are not to be confused with the hours which mark the time of day, for they are the Hours which preside over the changes of the seasons. But we must not dwell longer upon this subject.

So much for the origin of the pastoral, its species, and its subjects. Of the composition of each species the proper treatment is given in the proper place, and we here close the strictly historical treatment.

I. 5.

COMEDY AND TRAGEDY

From pastoral poetry comedy subsequently sprang, and we find Theocritus applying a common term to the pastoral and to the drama: *κωμάσδω ποτὶ τὰν Ἀμαρυλλίδα* (*I make merry with Amaryllis*). Just as the Sicilians arrogate to themselves the invention of the bucolic, so also they claim the origin of comedy. They avow that Epicharmus was a citizen of a colony established by the Megarians, and that as he lived before Chionides and Magnes, he destroys the claim of the latter to the invention of comedy. Not only do the Sicilians make this claim for the origin of comedy, but they also assert that they refined and ennobled it, for they say that the credit for enlivening the antiquated raillery with a plot belongs to Phormis and Epicharmus. The Sicilian claim is further supported by the argument that while the Attic Greeks use the verb *πράττειν* (*to do*), the Dorians use *δρᾶν* (*to do*), the word from which 'drama' comes. Again, the Attic Greeks use the word *δῆμος* for a village, the Dorians, *κῶμη*, whence *κωμάζειν* (*to make merry, to go about the villages reveling*). This reveling took place after dinner, as a relief from the day's work.

The Greeks required only a very sparing breakfast—*jentatio*, as we call it, whence *jento*, related to the Greek verb in *ὅτι δὲ ἔειπεν*—Dorian *ἔειπεν* (*because one must be leaving*), and they took little more at luncheon, a meal named from the mid-day hour, in which they took refreshment. Another luncheon was the *prandium* (literally, *early in the day*), so called because by it one was once more prepared for his work. Similarly, the Greeks call it *δεῖπνον*, a contraction for *δὲ πρὸν εἶναι* (*one must be at work*). It was clearly a meal to put one in condition for further work.

Later in the day, when work was over, there was a more pretentious and elaborate meal, which was eaten in the society of one's family or intimate friends. This meal was called *coena*, because it was eaten 'in common' (κοινά), and was not a private meal. The Greeks called it δόρπον, a contraction for the phrase παρὰ τὸ δόρυ παύειν (*to rest beside the spear*). This word of course originated in the army, and implies that the soldiers did not bathe or lay aside their arms unless their work was over.

The young men, then, with leisure on their hands, took advantage of the freedom of the night, and, safely away from masters, patrons, or parents, ran to and fro in the country districts. At that time they did not, as was the later custom, assemble in the cities. The same custom under the same name held in the Roman times; thus we read of *comessationes* (*revelings*) in Livy. The sports indulged in in the villages were quite properly called *comoedia*, a compound of ὠδή (*ode*) and κώμη (*village*). They were thus distinguished from the odes sung in the pastures or fields, at tombs or altars. Many extant passages of Epicharmus witness to this etymology: Ἐκ μὲν θυσίας θοίνη, ἐκ θοίνης πόσις, ἐκ πόσιος κῶμος, ἐκ κώμου θανάτι, ἐκ θανάτις δίκη, ἐκ καταδίκης πέδαι τε, καὶ σφάκελος, καὶ ζημία (*from the sacrifice comes the feast, from the feast drinking, from drinking revelry, from revelry swinishness, from swinishness conviction in court, and from the court's sentence, fetters and gangrene and a fine*). In this passage κῶμος defines frenzy induced by drinking and carousing. Let us also add the passage from the Fourth Book of Theopompus' *Histories*, relative to the untimely incontinence of Philip of Macedon: καὶ πῶν δὲ τὴν νύκτα πᾶσαν, καὶ μεθυσθεὶς ἤδη πρὸς ἡμέραν ἐκώμαζεν (*wantoning all the night and drunken as well, he reveled even until day*). Thus there would be sporting even after light, as Martial said of that Acerra whom he facetiously described. Again, in his *The Twofold Indictment* (*Discategorumenos*) Lucian

has Luna shining on τοῖς κωμάζουσι (*the revelers*.) Then there is the verb ἐπικωμάζειν (*to rush on with a party of revelers*), where the prefix has the same force as in ἐπιπικραίνειν (*to make still more keen*). The verb means that the reveling is resumed, and does not refer to the drinking on the day after the festivity, as Origen states. The same idea is expressed by a less common verb, βαλλίζειν (*to throw the leg about, to dance*). Perhaps it is from this word that we get the name Ballio for a worthless fellow, a name which Alexis, Sophron, and Epicharmus all use in their comedies.

As of other things, so of the arts, time is the refiner and systematizer, so that with more cultured generations comedy conformed to artistic principles, and yielded to prescribed limits. Thus fixed regulations determined the time and place for presenting comedy.

Some say that comedy took its rise from the songs at the cross-roads and in the villages in honor of Apollo Nomius, the pastoral divinity, but this must be regarded as a later development. It was not the original comedy, but was developed from comedy. Nor would we fall into the error of Idomeneus, who ventured to assert that the Pisis-tratidae invented merry-making and revelries (θαλῖαι καὶ κῶμοι). Their service was to refine the primitive and unrestrained inventions of others. And you must avoid the like error of Varro, when he says that comedy originated with the young men who went about the villages telling stories for money, for comedy was known in the villages before this practice; and surely amusement is older than its employment for gain. So there is no truth in that report. Lastly, it is said that Epicharmus gave comedy its name, when, as an exile on Cos, he was writing plays; but the fact is that comedy came to him ready named, and his part was to refine it.

We learn from history that tragedy was early known, for at the grave of Theseus the tragic poets vied with one

another. However, tragedy is not, as reported, older than comedy, for the homelier or more every-day life finds its way into song first; thus, nuptials before tragic situations, drinking bouts before continence, the conversation of ordinary life before a pretentious style of discourse, and pastoral life before court life. Moreover, this claim that tragedy antedates comedy is based upon false reasoning. It is said that the *Iliad* is older than the *Odyssey*, and that the *Iliad* is the model for tragedy, and the *Odyssey* for comedy. Now I would not presume to say which one was written earlier, for it is a debatable question, but I do think that the *Odyssey*, which is written in a looser style, should be read first. Furthermore I do not think that all writing should be referred to Homer as a standard, for he ought to be judged by a standard himself. Again, who does not see that the *Odyssey* is essentially a tragedy? In the *Iliad*, on the other hand, there is no tragic sequence. If you take it as a whole, it is one long string of deaths. It begins with a pestilence, which destroys more men than the entire war; it ends with the death of only one person, and he is not even mentioned by name. And though the poem is called the *Iliad*, Ilium is not destroyed in this poem, but in the *Odyssey*. On the other hand, in the major part of the *Odyssey* only one character, Elpenor, dies, and he was drunk; for the destruction of the companions of Odysseus is barely mentioned, and without any emotional appeal. There are pictures of sweet intercourse, there is drinking, song, and dance. At the *dénouement*, however, the wooers are slain, and the *deus ex machina*, a property of tragedy, is employed. Finally, Aristotle laughs at those who think that the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey* is a complete organism with one plot, for he says that one may draw several plots from either one, because there are many parts and many episodes. So it was that the ancients were accustomed to recite certain episodes taken from the body of the work, as the battle at the ships, the catalogue of ships, the summoning of the spirits, the events

on Circe's isle, the arms of Achilles, the slaying of the wooers, and so on. Such excerpts we have discussed in the chapter on rhapsody.

The grammarians, forsooth, have the temerity to pass judgment on anything and everything, so long as they consider criticism the third part of their art. But judgment on such a point as the priority of tragedy must not be allowed them; it is the office of the philosopher *par excellence*. The philosopher has one principle of judgment for every department of knowledge. So it was a stupid thing to call me a grammarian because of my work on historical Latin grammar, a work in which every point is weighed in the balances of philosophy. How can the workman test his own working principles? But in that book we test everything that the grammarians accept as established. The detractors of Aristotle, again, are so meritorious that they do nothing but talk.

Homer, indeed, was not so much a teacher of comedy or tragedy, as a pupil who learned from the country folk and old wives in Ithaca, Chios, and elsewhere, the little stories that he adapted and incorporated into his works. In support of this statement, let me cite Hesiod, who was Homer's senior, lived in the country, and sang in the villages.

Finally, Aristotle did not say that tragedy antedates comedy, but that it was refined earlier. There is no question that comedy was late in being embellished.

Tragedy and comedy are of the same genus, and share in common the name drama. Clearly this is not far from the thought that Plato touched upon, but did not elaborate, in the *Symposium*.

The grammarians did some more false teaching about comedy when they said that it was poetry based upon imitation, and consisted in gesticulation and delivery, for surely a comedy is no less a comedy if it be read in silence. Then gesture is confined to recitation, and not all who read, recite. Moreover, we hear too much about imitation being the end

of poetry in general. So our definition would be: Comedy is a dramatic poem, which is filled with intrigue, full of action, happy in its outcome, and written in a popular style.

An inaccurate definition of the Latin comedy described it as 'a plot free from the suggestion of danger, dealing with the life and affairs of the private citizen.' In the first place, this definition covers other, non-dramatic stories, which can be presented in simple narration. In the second place, there is always the suggestion of danger in comedy, although the outcome is invariably tame. What else is danger than the approach or the visitation of imminent danger? Further, there is not only danger in comedy, but violence at the hands of panderers, rivals, lovers, servants, or masters. Thus in the *Asinaria* and *The Ghost* even the masters themselves are ill-treated. Once more, this definition would not admit the official class, wearers of the toga, for they are not private citizens. Finally, the definition would embrace mimes and dramatic satires.

Crates of Athens was the first to write comedy free from the shackles of metre.

Now since comedy and tragedy are of the same genus, it is important to know the extent of the similarity. We will first treat of tragedy in general, and then later we will discuss the characters and actions in comedy and tragedy respectively.

I. 6.

TRAGEDY

Tragedy, like comedy, is patterned after real life, but it differs from comedy in the rank of the characters, in the nature of the action, and in the outcome. These differences demand, in turn, differences in style. Comedy employs characters from rustic, or low city life, such as Chremes, Davus, and Thais. The beginning of a comedy presents a confused state of affairs, and this confusion is happily cleared up at the end. The language is that of every-day life. Tragedy, on the other hand, employs kings and princes, whose affairs are those of the city, the fortress, and the camp. A tragedy opens more tranquilly than a comedy, but the outcome is horrifying. The language is grave, polished, removed from the colloquial. All things wear a troubled look; there is a pervading sense of doom, there are exiles and deaths. Tradition has it that the Macedonian king, Archelaus, the intimate friend and patron of Euripides, asked the poet to make him the hero of a tragedy, but that Euripides replied: 'Indeed I cannot do it; your life presents no adequate misfortune.'

The name tragedy is derived from *τράγος*, the he-goat, for the simple reason that tragedy was acted in the honor of that divinity to whom the goat was wont to be sacrificed. Then, in turn, the goat was given as a prize, that the victor might sacrifice it to the god. It is recorded as an assured fact that tragedies were first acted in the vintage season, and this gave the grammarians an opportunity to derive the name from *τρίγγημα*, the vintage, just as if it were *τρυνγφδία*,¹ a word which you actually find in the *Acharnians* of Aristophanes. It is not known who was the author of tragedy,

¹ The older, but less honorable, word for *κωμῳδία*.

but we know that Thespis refined it. He was the first to go about presenting scenes from a wagon, and to smear the mouth with lees, as a mask. As *τρυξ* means lees, just as *τρίγῃμα*, vintage, some would derive the name tragedy from this use of the dregs of the wine. But this is a false etymology, for the name tragedy is older than Thespis.

The grammarians blunder again here, for they say that the lees used were either from wine or from oil, and add, with their fatal predilection for blunders, that 'lees' here means the watery liquid of the wine. Now, the lees of wine are anything but water, and are even subject to crystallization. The lees are the deposit which our physicians call tartar, known among the Arabs as *durdi*, a word which they use for the lees of wine, vinegar, and the like. For the lees of oil they have a different word, *thefal*, corresponding to our *amurca*. So much for the name and origin of tragedy.

The definition of tragedy given by Aristotle is as follows: 'Tragedy is an imitation of an action that is illustrious, complete, and of a certain magnitude, in embellished language, the different kinds of embellishments being variously employed in the different parts, and not in the form of narration, but through pity and fear effecting the purgation of such like passions.' 'I do not wish to attack this definition other than by adding my own: A tragedy is the imitation of the adversity of a distinguished man; it employs the form of action, presents a disastrous *dénouement*, and is expressed in impressive metrical language. Though Aristotle adds harmony and song, they are not, as the philosophers say, of the essence of tragedy; its one and only essential is acting. Then the phrase 'of a certain magnitude' is put in to differentiate the tragedy from the epic, which is sometimes prolix. It is not always so, however, as the work of Musaeus illustrates. Further, the mention of 'purgation' is too restrictive, for not every subject produces this effect. 'A certain magnitude', to return to the phrase, means not

too long and not too short, for a few verses would not satisfy the expectant public, who are prepared to atone for the disgusting prosiness of many a day by the enjoyment of a few hours. Prolixity, however, is just as bad, when you must say with Plautus: 'My legs ache with sitting, and my eyes with looking.'

I. 7.

KINDS OF COMEDY

So much for the origin of tragedy and comedy. Let us now consider the kinds of each, and the parts, and let the kinds of comedy be our first concern. These may be considered either chronologically, or with reference to subject-matter. Three periods of comedy are recognized. The first was the period of the Old Comedy, when, under a democratic government, it was permitted the poet to provoke a laugh at any cost, whether his jests were well-seasoned or sour. From no mere sense of equity, but with keen relish, the people saw magistrates brought to justice for their misdeeds, or witnessed the predicament in which the corrupt practices of bad citizens placed them. The poets could thus practice their abuse with impunity, on the ground that the deterrent fear of a bad reputation would reconcile men to virtue, and incite them to fruitful living. The poet was thus licensed to attack people of whatever rank, age, sex, or condition, and this not incidentally, but as the very pith and marrow of his plot. Instance *The Frogs* and *The Clouds* of Aristophanes. Although this persecution might be introduced at any point where the play warranted it, it was preferably assigned to the chorus.

We distinguish two periods of this Old Comedy. Thus Sannyrion, celebrated as first by the ancients, observed no rule for the division into parts and the introduction of actors, nor did he limit the actors to an exact number. It is said that Cratinus was the first to distinguish the parts, to divide the play into acts, and to limit the characters to three, and yet that his service was rather to make a careful beginning than to formulate the completed system. This crowning work is attributed to Aristophanes. But if any

one will examine the work of Aristophanes more acutely, he will find that the parts lack unity, and are not grouped into acts after the manner of later writers. We may find another basis for the differentiation of these early dramatists in their mental temperaments, as exhibited in three representative writers, Cratinus, Aristophanes, and Eupolis. Though all three have a common end in view, to censure sharply and to raise a laugh, they go about it in different ways. Cratinus is acrid, with lance unsheathed and bare; Eupolis is grave, and supports his pungent pleasantries by the novelty of fictitious characters; the laughter of Aristophanes is biting, and every thrust is a witticism. From these men the detractors of Juvenal should learn that their contention is not valid. They say that his affectation sounded the death-knell of pleasing satire; that where Horace is delicate and placid, Juvenal is harsh and rash; that satire is not to reprehend or rebuke, but to mock and tease. This contention is not at all true, as we have shown in the proper place. In fact we find in this Old Comedy the usage and theory which Latin satire should accept as its law. Such models are Eupolis and Cratinus, for Aristophanes more resembles Horace.

Later, the power of the people waned, and their extravagant license and inconstancy gave place to the tyrannic pleasure of a few. Then it was that fear of men in power induced the poet to confine himself to praise. On this account the chorus was done away with, for its special function was to injure whomever it pleased. Since the other parts of comedy were unchanged, with this exception of the chorus the species remained as before. This came to be known as the Middle Comedy; of course this designation was not given to it at the time, but after the name New Comedy came to be used. By Middle Comedy was meant that which came between the Old Comedy and the New. It was intermediate both in form and in time. As to form, it was identical with neither the one nor the other, and as

to time, it was anterior to the one, and posterior to the other. Indeed the New Comedy began to flourish under Alexander, in the age which succeeded to the oligarchy. In the place of the chorus, the Middle Comedy employed what was known as the parabasis, in which passages from other poets, written with no thought of offense and without a suspicion of calling down a storm on themselves, were ridiculed. Cratinus wrote a play of this sort, which he speciously called *Odysseys*; it is said to have been a most scurrilous attack on the *Odyssey* of Homer. Another play of like character was the *Aeolosicon* of Aristophanes. In the *Plutus* of Aristophanes the chorus is wanting, as we have noted elsewhere, and seemingly it was not omitted, but removed. It is an established fact that Cratinus, daring to revert to the former license, wrote a play called *βάπται*, or *The Dippers*, which cost him his life, for he was taken captive by those whom he had attacked, was bound, and, in imitation of the title of the play, was thrown into the sea. Besides those whom we have mentioned above, there flourished in the period of the Old Comedy Phrynichus, Theopompus, Archippus, Plato, Teleclides, Pherecrates, Stratis, Crates, and others. In the middle period flourished Phillipides, Straton, Anaxilas, Mnesimachus, Epicrates, Ambraciota, Nicostratus, and Sotades—not that monster Sotades who was famed for his lasciviousness, but the other who has left us a bare line or two from his play entitled *Ἐγκλειόμεναι*. Another poet of this period, and a very noted one, was Alexis. Horace said that Accius made fun of the verses of Ennius, but the remark is especially applicable to the parabasis, which, as we have said, was peculiarly distinctive of the Middle Comedy, though no one of the grammarians has told us just what it was like.

The New Comedy differs from the Old in many respects, notably in composition. Thus it has more exacting laws both for plot and diction, and is not so much given to jesting and provoking a laugh at anything and everything. It is

divided into five acts, and employs the fluteplayer. As to the vocabulary which this New Comedy coined, it is a vocabulary of raillery, not of laughter. In the Greek New Comedy the language is distinctly that of the streets. As to metre, it was content with the iambic and trochaic, and did not run after variety. In the Old Comedy, on the other hand, we find many different measures.

However, the early records give ample proof that the New Comedy originated from the Old. Thus it is said that Aristophanes wrote a play called *Cocalus*, the style of which furnished Menander and Philemon the rules and regulations with which they invented the New Comedy.

Although our Latin comedy favored and imitated the New Comedy of the Greeks, yet we also make a chronological classification of our comedies, based not on species, but on style. Thus we speak of the Old Comedy of Livius Andronicus, the Middle Comedy of Pacuvius, and the New Comedy of Terence, because Terence was born in the last period, Andronicus in the first, and Pacuvius in the middle. Andronicus was the first to present a plot, and, following the Greek custom he taught the parts to the players, and also appeared on the stage to correct them. Aristophanes did not dare do this when he was a novice, and so hired two actors, Callistratus and Philonides, who appeared before the public in his stead, but he was so censured by the raillery of Aristonymus and Ameipsas that he put aside his fears and came on the stage himself. Whether or not Livius Andronicus was the first Latin poet to use a chorus, I have not yet found out, but Plinius Caecilius says that in his day the Old Latin Comedy was recited, and not acted.

The New Comedy of the Romans did not refrain from censuring and condemning vices, as frequent passages in Plautus, and one covert passage in Terence, demonstrate. The latter is as follows: In *The Eunuch* a slave-girl says that Chaera is threatened with the proper punishment of the adulterer, and she adds, 'a thing that I never saw done, nor wish to.' This speech is in character, for the woman gained

a meretricious livelihood, and did not want to see adulterers punished, but it is also a hidden attack upon the neglect of the Romans in punishing adultery, for when she says that she had never seen the punishment, she is in effect saying that it was never executed. Although Plautus reworked the plays of Diphilus, Menander, Epicharmus, Philemon, and Apollodorus, he now and then inserted satire foreign to the original, and this not merely incidentally, but in elaborate passages. In *The Forgery*¹ occur the following lines: 'And then those Grecians with their cloaks, who walk about with covered heads, who go loaded beneath their cloaks with books, and with baskets, they loiter together, and engage in gossiping among themselves, the gad-about; you may always see them enjoying themselves in the hot-liquor shops; when they have scraped up some trifle, with their covered pates they are drinking mulled wine, sad and maudlin they depart.'² In like vein in other passages he criticised the customs and peoples of the time, and not simply customs in general, but even the conduct of the individual, as Pollio in *The Twin Sisters*, for his bad acting. He even inserted in this last-mentioned play a severely censorious parabasis, which we discuss in the proper place.

The plays of Plautus and Terence are ostensibly Greek, but later the Romans made bold to modify this absurd exaction by introducing both Latin names and customs, and employing them in holiday spectacles. Thus Marcellus, Brutus, and other of the nobility not only appeared on the benches as spectators, but also as characters on the stage. From this innovation arose the custom of naming plays according to the garments or ornaments worn by the *dramatis personae*. So just as Greek plays were called *palliatae*, after the Greek robe, Roman plays were analogically called *togatae*. The *togatae* in turn were subdivided into the *praetextatae* and

¹ Scaliger spells it *Girgوليو*, which would mean *The Windpipe*, instead of *Circulio*.

² Riley.

the *trabeatae*. The *praetextatae*, which were the higher class of the two, were named from the *praetexta*, the purple-bordered toga of the magistracy, for *praetexo*, like the Greek περιπορφύρω means to 'border with purple.' The *trabeata*, as we learn from the little book entitled *Illustrious Grammarians*, was invented by Caius Melissus, who was librarian in the portico of Octavia under Augustus. The characters in the *trabeata* were the private senators, who wore the toga. Another style of Latin comedy presented the humble concerns of the populace, and the actors wore the simple tunic. These plays, however, were not called *tunicatae*, but *tabernariae*, after the shops or booths in which the scenes were laid. Still another species of comedy, one altogether given up to pointed jesting, was the *atellana*, so-called from Atella, an Oscan town. These plays first appeared in the town theatres, but they obtained such favor that they were transferred to the city. Their acrid language had no further object than to raise a laugh. It was from such a play that, in his *Life of Tiberius*, Suetonius cites that verse which censures the coarse, dirty fellow for his obscenity: 'The old buck lusts after the goats.' Perhaps there is a pun in these words, for women may be called goats (*caprae*) because Tiberius chose the isle of Capri as his retreat. You must know that the Romans thought that it was no disgrace for them to take up the customs of their neighbors, in order to relieve their minds from the weighty conduct of public affairs. Indeed, though the performances were obscene in every respect, in character, action, and language, they enjoyed having free-born citizens engage in presenting satirical thrusts in jests which were couched in uncouth verses. Because this style of poem lacked the full proportions of the *atellana*, and yet was congenial to it, in time it was inserted as a part, and gave rise to the *exodia*. The fact that the performers of the *atellanae* were citizens, relieved them from being enrolled among the actors or removed from their tribes, and retained them the right of applying for military service. One kind

of comedy was known as the *Italian*, but whether this was the *atellana* or some other variety is not known, nor indeed is it a matter of much moment. In the Ninth Book of the *Banquet of the Learned* a certain Tarentine poet, Sciras, is mentioned as the author of the *Italian Comedy*. Donatus adds another kind of comedy called the *rhintonicae*, and he says that these plays were so called after Rhinton, the actor, but I do not see how an actor is able to change or originate a species of drama. In his Third Book, Athenaeus speaks of Rhinton as a poet and the author of a play, *Amphitryon*, and not as an actor at all. Donatus agrees with us in distinguishing the *togatae* from the *tabernariae*, though others, whom I think are undoubtedly mistaken, do not.

Each kind of comedy has its own types of character, though it is said that Pacuvius did not observe the distinctions, and presented the plot of a *praetexta* under the title of a *palliata*; at least this is so if he wrote the *Orestes* and the *Agamemnon*. As a matter of fact, novelty pleases us in things dramatic, even when a play is distorted to secure it. Thus in his playful way Plautus calls his *Jupiter in Disguise* a tragicomedy, for he attempts to combine the dignity of distinguished characters with the lowliness of comedy.

We may make another classification of comedies according to subject-matter. Some plays are wholly taken up with love affairs, as the *Andria*; some with calumny, as *The Clouds*; and some, with the civic conditions and customs of Rome, as *The Treasure*, *The Captives*, and *The Concealed Treasure*. In other plays an absorbing *dénouement* is the end sought, as in *The Apparition*, and *Arcturus*. Still others hinge upon deception, as *The Braggart Captain* and *The Cheat*. By another classification we recognize plays as full of commotion and bustle, so-called noisy plays (*motoriae*); such a play is *The Brothers*. Other plays are more composed and free from this running to and fro—the so-called quiet plays (*statariae*). Instance *The Mother-in-Law* and the *Asinaria*. Other plays are jovial and convivial, as *The Twin Sisters*. Now let us take up the parts of tragedy.

I. 8.

KINDS OF TRAGEDY

There are two kinds of tragedy, named locally Greek and Latin. The latter is also called *praetextata*, after the aristocratic robe of that name; an example is Seneca's *Nero*. Tragedies also differ in the nature of their subject-matter. For example, Callias, an Athenian who was born before Straton, produced a tragedy which he named *Grammar*, because he used mere letters for both its vocalization and its subject-matter, and the chorus was nothing else than a dancing to names and sounds and measures and rhythms of the letters of the alphabet. If any one cares to know more about this play, let him consult Athenaeus, for it has little to do with our present subject, and has small interest for Latin scholars. However, it was so admired by those of former times that, as records show, some verses in the *Medea* of Euripides and in the *Oedipus* of Sophocles were composed in imitation of it.

Another species of tragedy contains satyrs mingled with heroes in such a way that things grave and merry are combined. The *Polyphemus* of Euripides is an example. Mendemus the philosopher states that Sophocles and Achaëus wrote the first plays of this kind.

Now there were four festivals in which tragedies were wont to be acted, hence the term *τετραλογία σατυρική*.¹ In three, namely the Dionysia, Lenaea, and Panathenaea, subjects of a grave character were acted; in the fourth, or Chytra, satiric subjects.

¹ A group of four dramas, one being satyric.

III. 5.

PLACE

The description of a place is either simple or with superficialities. This last term of course is not to be taken in its mathematical sense of length and breadth, but in the legal sense of a wall, a grove, an altar, or a goal. Then sometimes we show what use it serves, and mention its advantages or disadvantages. A simple description is the following: 'The harbour is sheltered from the approach of winds, unmoved in its broad bay.' A more elaborate simple description from the same book reads: 'The harbour by the force of the eastern wave is scooped into the shape of a bow.' In the first book we find a more elegant description: 'Within a long recess there is a spot; an island forms a harbour, etc.' A description with superficialities would be the line, 'In the midst of the city grew a holy grove.' In the following we have the description of the nature of a place and of its use: 'In the distance out at sea is a rock facing the foaming beach; at times it is submerged and buffeted by the swelling waves, when the stormy north-westerners hide the stars; in calm weather it is quiet, and rises above the still sea with level surface; a station where the cormorants most delight to bask.' Sometimes the name is added: 'In sight lies Tenedos, an island well known by fame, rich and powerful,' and then follow its vicissitudes: 'So long as the realm of Priam lasted, now a mere bay, and an unsafe anchorage for ships.' In like manner is the description of Italy in the First Book, and it tells of the change in name. And there is a similar description of Thrace in Book Three, though the author does not say in so many words, 'It is called Thrace,' but rather, 'The Thracians till it.' Use is again illustrated in the following from the Second Book:

'There was a threshold, and a concealed door, and a clear communication with the several parts of Priam's palace,' etc. Note also the place in the Eleventh Book where Turnus leads his forces: 'There is a valley with a winding gorge, formed for fraud, and the stratagems of war: dark banks close it in on either side with steep descending woods; hither leads a narrow path, and a strait pass, and a scanty approach bears the traveller on. Above this, on the cliffs and on the highest peak of the hill, there lies table-land little known, and a safe place of retreat, whether from the right or left you mean to rush to the fight, or to take your stand on the ridge, and roll down huge masses of rock.' In like manner you might study the descriptions of Mount Aetna, of the encampments, of Carthage, and the like, which would serve you as models in imitating the work of that divine author. So you might use the following passage: 'There is a place in the heart of Italy beneath high mountains, well known, and told of by rumour in many a land, the valley of Amsanctus; the dark side of a wood hems it in on either hand with thick foliage, and in the center a roaring torrent resounds o'er the rocks with whirling eddies. Here a dreadful cavern is shown as the vent of cruel Dis, and a mighty gulf, through which bursts Acheron, opening its jaws fraught with pestilence.'

III. 25.

THE FOUR ATTRIBUTES OF THE POET

Thus far we have presented the *ideas* of things in examples drawn from Virgil, just as they might be taken from nature itself. Indeed, I think that the workmanship of his poetry finds an analogy in art, for sculptors and painters take from real life those conceptions which they use in imitating lines, light, shade, and background, and they embody in their own productions the peculiar excellencies of many objects, so that they do not seem to have been taught by nature, but to have vied with it, or even better to have given it its laws. Who, in fact, would say that nature ever produced a woman so beautiful that a connoisseur could not find some flaw in her beauty? For though the archetype of nature is altogether perfect in outline and proportions, the actual product suffers many hindrances through circumstances of parentage, climate, time, and place. So we have not been able to get from nature a single pattern such as the *ideas* of Virgil furnish us. Accordingly it now remains for us with acuteness and wisdom to consider in systematic order the elements in that divine power of his. This will be our next concern.

The early orators had only one end in view, to persuade and move their hearers, and their language was correspondingly rude; the poets sought only to please, and they whiled away their leisure simply with alluring songs. In due time, however, orator and poet secured from each other that which they lacked respectively. Isocrates is credited with having first given graceful movement to a hitherto rude diction, though deeper students of the literary monuments award this distinction to Thrasy machus, and add that his diligent efforts were furthered by Gorgias, while the work

of Isocrates was to add the finishing touch. As to poetry, on the other hand, it was rendered more thoughtful by being transferred from the country to the town, where plots were added to furnish warning examples, and sentiments to furnish precepts.

Horace most aptly said, 'He carries every vote who mingles the useful with the pleasing,' for poetry bends all its energies to these two ends, to teach and to please. Now to realize these ends one's work must conform to certain principles. In the first place his poem must be deeply conceived, and be unvaryingly self-consistent. Then he must take pains to temper all with variety (*varietas*), for there is no worse mistake than to glut your hearer before you are done with him. What then are the dishes which would create distaste rather than pleasure? The third poetic quality is found in but few writers, and is what I would term vividness (*efficacia*); there is also a Greek name for it which will be given in the proper place. By vividness I mean a certain potency and force in thought and language which compels one to be a willing listener. The fourth is winsomeness (*suavitas*), which tempers the ardency of this last quality, of itself inclined to be harsh. Insight and foresight (*prudentia*), variety, vividness, and winsomeness, these, then, are the supreme poetic qualities.

III. 96.

REGULATIONS FOR THE VARIOUS KINDS OF
POETRY: EPIC POETRY

We have already remarked that for objects of every kind there exists one perfect original to which all the rest can be referred as their norm and standard. In epic poetry, which describes the descent, life, and deeds of heroes, all other kinds of poetry have such a norm, so that to it they turn for their regulative principles. Now our First Book has shown into what species poetry is divided. We shall therefore derive from the sovereignty of the epic the universal controlling rules for the composition of each other kind, according to its distinctive subject-matter and nature. Having thus found the laws common to all, we are to determine the privileges of each, making heroic poetry our point of departure.

✓ After one has determined in a general way the events and characters of a poem, has adjusted them to times and places, and has deduced the sequence of action, there remains the composition according to a well-known principle. The precept of Horace to begin *ab ovo* is by no means to be followed. Rather let the first rule be, to begin with something grand, cognate with the theme, and intimately related. This rule was observed by Lucan, who, in writing of the Civil War, begins with Caesar's crossing of the Rubicon, because for this act the senate adjudged him an enemy, and compelled him to make war. A second rule: Do not repeat and double on your tracks, lest you become tedious. If the same event is often repeated, it is of necessity intrusively forced upon the attention, which is utterly contrary to the general rules heretofore established. The very thing, therefore, which you are going to take as your principal

theme should not be placed first in the narrative, for the mind of the hearer is to be kept in suspense, awaiting that which is to develop. It is obviously a unique and chief virtue to hold the hearer captive. For this reason the greatest of poets so arranged his material that the end of the narrative of Aeneas was in reality the beginning of the action proper: 'Thence me in my wanderings the God has driven to your shores.' From this point the story moves on evenly. To be sure, it is interrupted by novel experiences, but these are constituent parts of it, or closely related. Thus the insertion of the story of Camilla looks to the fact that her death is atoned for by the death of Aruns. The critics have failed to note the nice variation in this passage, for though in this catalogue of warriors he gives the country, parents, and race of many, he only says of Camilla that she was fleet of foot, and the reason is that Diana was to tell the story of her life in a later book. In this instance, Virgil was acting in obvious conformity with the above principle. This principle of arrangement has a most admirable realization in the *Aethiopica* of Heliodorus, a book, I take it, that should be most carefully conned by the epic poet, as furnishing him the best model. ✓

Another principle is that an author should divide his book into chapters in imitation of nature, which subdivides into parts of parts, all so related that they constitute an organic body. But in doing this, you should so assign each part to its proper place that the book shall seem to have shaped itself inevitably, an achievement perfectly realized only by the divine Maro. If one will read the *Aeneid* attentively, he will see that it conforms to this principle. To be sure, the *Georgics* does not, but this exception is due to the nature of the subject-matter. Now the epic story is wholly taken from civil life, and yet the more important parts are assigned to kings and heroes. With mortals, as already stated, the gods associate. Mingled with the affairs of peace, at intervals battles are waged. Variety

dictates other usages. Now to some it has seemed that Sallust showed a vain ambition, because, poet-like, when he undertook to treat of Catiline he omitted the story of the man, but, instead, recalled history from the very beginning of Rome. But it seems to me that a man eminent and even peerless in his class, as was he, did this rightly and from necessity, in order thus to show the corruption of the state of which the worthless Catiline was himself a part, and where he had many confederates in his crime and wickedness. Nor is Musaeus to be condemned because in his altogether charming story of Leander he does not follow the same practice, for that story is, as it were, a tragedy, so that the narrative properly begins and ends with the immediate tale of Leander.

III. 97.

TRAGEDY, COMEDY, MIMES

Although tragedy resembles this epic poetry, it differs in rarely introducing persons of the lower classes, such as messengers, merchants, sailors, and the like. Comedies, on the other hand, never admit kings, save in such a rare instance as the *Amphitryon* of Plautus. I would limit this generalization of course to those plays which employ Greek characters and the Greek dress, for the Romans have admitted at will the dignified toga and *trabea*. The wanton characters of the satyric plays are drinking, joking, jolly, sarcastic fellows. The mime employs cloth-fullers, shoemakers, butchers, poulterers, fish-dealers, and market-gardeners. Such characters, indeed, were admitted in the Old Comedy, as well, for the subject-matter of the Old Comedy was not very different from that of the mimes, and the difference between the two forms was largely in the division into acts, and the introduction of the chorus. Tragedy and comedy are alike in mode of representation, but differ in subject-matter and treatment (*ordo*). The matters of tragedy are great and terrible, as commands of kings, slaughters, despair, suicides, exiles, bereavements, parricides, incests, conflagrations, battles, the putting out of eyes, weeping, wailing, bewailing, funerals, eulogies, and dirges. In comedy we have jests, reveling, weddings with drunken carousals, tricks played by slaves, drunkenness, old men deceived and cheated of their money. To satyric plays belong dancing, banquets, potations, and biting raillery; to mimes, plebeian, ignoble trafficking, frauds, rustic pranks, drawling speeches, panderings, jokes, jests, deceptions. The performances of the satyrs, at the close as at the beginning, are impudent, capricious, unexpected, varied, and inco-

herent. The action of the mimes is abrupt; thus if one character leave the stage, all the rest leave too, even though not much of a situation has been worked out. The characters run and skip about, they rail at one another, they are lazy and silly. Parodies imitate, but so imitate as to subvert that which is serious, and give a thought an unexpected turn. Thus, to cite an example, Euripides says, '*Iusjurandum si violandum est bibendi causa; caeteris rebus πῆν colas* (A violated oath is cause for drinking; see to it that you cultivate your drinking on other grounds).' Cicero parodied the passage as follows; '*Regnandi causa et pietatem colas* (To rule, cultivate piety).' He thus plays upon words in *pieta* and πῆν, and subverts the sense.

Now a tragedy, provided it is a genuine tragedy, is altogether serious, but there have been some satyrical plays which differed little from comedies save in the gravity of some of the characters. We have an illustration in the *Cyclops* of Euripides, where all is wine and jesting, and where the outcome is so happy that all the companions of Ulysses are released, and the Cyclops alone suffers in the loss of his eye. The conclusion of this play was not unlike that of a mime, for the stage was wholly deserted on the exit of Ulysses, the giant with the rock alone remaining.

There are, on the other hand, many comedies which end unhappily for some of the characters. Such are *The Braggart Captain*, *The Persian*, and the *Asinaria* of Plautus. So too, there are not a few tragedies which end happily. Thus in the *Electra* of Euripides, except for the slaughter of Aegisthus, joy came to many. In the *Ion* and the *Helen* the outcome was happy. Again, though *The Eumenides* of Aeschylus contains tragic events, for example slaughters and furies, its treatment is more like that of comedy. The opening part is gratifying to the guard, and disturbing to Clytemnestra because of the arrival of her husband; then comes the murder, which makes Electra and Orestes happy; and then succeeds the *dénouement*, which brings happi-

ness to all—Apollo, Orestes, the people, Pallas, and the Eumenides. Hence it is by no means true, as has hitherto been taught, that an unhappy issue is essential to tragedy. It is enough that the play contain horrible events.

When authors take their plots from history, they must be careful not to depart too widely from the records. In the early writers such care was by no means taken. Thus Aeschylus followed Greek history in binding Prometheus to the rock, but he invented the fiction of his undoing by the thunderbolt, for tragic effect. There should be no dire event at the end, but only at the beginning, where he is bound to Caucasus. However, some have it that the eagle was driven away by Hercules; others that he killed it with his arrows; and still others that Prometheus was set free by Jupiter himself, because he had warned the god not to cohabit with Thetis, lest she should bear him a son more illustrious than the father. Euripides invented stories about Helen which were utterly contrary to well-known history. The same author has been censured for bringing wicked and impure women into his plays. What is viler, the critic says, than Phaedra, Jocasta, Canace, and Pasiphae, by whose infamy society is corrupted? But we reply that these women were not creatures of his imagination, but were taken from life. Forsooth, if we are to hear of no wickedness, history must be done away with. So those comedies should be prized which make us condemn the vices which they bring to our ears, especially when the life of impure women ends in an unhappy death.

When a sentiment has two modes of expression, the tragedy throughout is to rest upon each, for together they constitute, as it were, a sustaining column or pillar for the entire structure. A sentiment may be put simply and definitely, as when we say, 'Death makes the good happy,' or it may be expressed figuratively at greater length, as when the above sentiment is thus expressed: 'Be not willing to think of good men as perishing, whose souls, *per se* immortal,

take their flight from out these miseries to those seats whence they had departed.' A sentiment may also be relieved of its plainness by being put into the mouth of some person; thus Socrates is made to speak in the *Apology* and in the *Phaedo*.

The events themselves should be made to have such sequence and arrangement as to approach as near as possible to truth, for the play is not acted solely to strike the spectator with admiration or consternation—a fault of which, according to the critics, Aeschylus was often guilty—but should also teach, move, and please. We are pleased either with jests, as in comedy, or with things serious, if rightly ordered. Disregard of truth is hateful to almost every man. Therefore, neither those battles or sieges at Thebes which are fought through in two hours please me, nor do I take it to be the part of a discreet poet to pass from Delphi to Athens, or from Athens to Thebes, in a moment of time. Thus, Aeschylus has Agamemnon killed and buried so suddenly that the actor has scarcely time to breathe. Nor is the casting of Lichas into the sea by Hercules to be approved, for it cannot be represented without doing violence to truth.

The content of a play should be as concise as possible, yet also as varied and manifold as possible; for example, Hecuba in Thrace, Achilles forbidding her return, Polydorus already killed, the murder of Polyxena, and the blinding of Polymnestor. Since dead persons cannot be introduced, their apparitions, or ghosts, or spectres, are substituted. Thus, as noted above, Aeschylus introduces the apparitions of Polydorus and Darius, and in Ovid, Ceyx appears to Alcyone. If a tragedy is to be composed from this last story, it should not begin with the departure of Ceyx, for as the whole time for stage-representation is only six or eight hours, it is not true to life to have a storm arise, and the ship founder, in a part of the sea from which no land is visible. Let the first act be a passionate lamentation, the

chorus to follow with execrations of sea life; the second act, a priest with votive offerings conversing with Alcyone and her nurse, altars, fire, pious sentiments, the chorus following with approbation of the vows; the third act, a messenger announcing the rising of a storm, together with rumors as to the ship, the chorus to follow with mention of shipwrecks, and much apostrophizing of Neptune; the fourth act tumultuous, the report found true, shipwrecks described by sailors and merchants, the chorus bewailing the event as though all were lost; the fifth act, Alcyone peering anxiously over the sea and sighting far off a corpse, followed by the resolution, when she was about to take her own life. This sample outline can be expanded by the introduction of other characters.

The greatest of care should be exercised in the choice of a title, for it ought to be derived from the most conspicuous event, or the person most conspicuous in rank or suffering, or who figures most prominently in the plot as a whole. Thus the *Hecuba* of Euripides is so called because Hecuba is everywhere in evidence from beginning to end. But since the issue of tragedy should be unhappy, and *Hecuba* is a tragedy, Hecuba ought to have been made more miserable at the end than at the beginning; this is certainly not done, for the end furnishes some scant relief to her misery. Then too, Seneca's *The Trojan Women* is not rightly named, for there is nothing about Troy in it. Nor have the poets been happy in naming their plays after choruses; for why the name *The Phoenician Women*, when the play was devoted to so great a slaughter of Theban men? Especially why does the poet go so far afield for a title, for the women were Thebans, and not Phoenicians? So too the title *The Trachinian Women* is bad, for what had the women to do with the burial of Hercules? Certainly no grave mishap befell the Trachinian women. Euripides found a happier name than this of Sophocles in *Hercules of Oeta*, and better still was the title *The Seven Against Thebes*, used by Aeschylus.

The Eumenides of Aeschylus, however, was not well-named, for the Eumenides do not suffer. More satisfactory is the title *Orestes*, employed by Euripides. Thus it appears that to plays with the same subject-matter different names have been given.

All arts are rude at the start, and are refined by time. So I suppose that Thespis, the inventor of tragedy, used very simple action. Laertius says tragedies were originally acted by the chorus alone. After Thespis came Phrynichus, whose characters were called stupid by Aristophanes. Aeschylus followed with a more pompous style, but with little variety of plot, and little, if any, novelty; he showed simply one manner, tenor, and treatment. But the tragedy that can fill the spectator, and send him away satisfied, allows of more than one issue. Aristotle uses in this connection the expression *περιπέτεια* (*reversal of fortune*), the change or reversal being either in the fortune or in the plans of men. Thus persons or places are often accidentally recognized either by signs, or by omens, as in the case of Virgil's fated cakes, or by oracles. The whole sum of these fated events Aristotle calls *σίστασις* (*plot, inner structure*); the confusion of affairs, *δέσις* (*complication*), for there is much complication; the *dénouement*, *λύσις* (*loosing*); and the tie by which these two parts are joined *παράβασις* (*deviation, digression*).¹ The outcome is either calamitous or associated with misfortune: joy of bad men turned to sorrow, grief of good men to joy, but with peril or injury from exile, judgment, carnage, or revenge.

Let us now take note of the nature and technique of the chorus. If it is true, as said, that in the early plays the chorus was used instead of the flute to indicate the acts—and that it is true we have satisfactorily demonstrated in the First Book—then it is clear that plays were not then, as now, divided into five acts. In the *Prometheus* of Aeschylus the chorus certainly seems to be introduced two or three times,

¹ Probably a misprint for *μετάβασις*, *change or reverse, turning-point*.

though if you care to consider Io and Oceanus as a chorus, there are then five choric parts, as in the *Agamemnon* of the same author, the *Hecuba* of Euripides, the *Philoctetes*, *Electra*, and *Oedipus at Colonos* of Sophocles, and the *Oedipus* of Seneca. Now if there are five choruses there will be six acts, for each chorus follows its own act, and after the fifth chorus there will still be the sixth act, or the catastrophe. The Greeks customarily closed a play with a choric part, and Seneca closed one in that manner, but these were not regarded as choruses proper. Here let it be said that Seneca has no chorus in *The Phoenician Women*, and in six of his other plays four choruses only, which would give us the five acts. The closing chorus always points out, as a judge, what has been done, and adds its own judgment thereto. In the *Philoctetes* of Sophocles this part is so light as better to befit comedy; it is simply an exhortation to depart. In his *Maidens of Trachis* Sophocles has six choruses, in his *Ajax* only four properly so called, and in the *Hippolytus* Euripides seems actually to have introduced eight, and these so unequal that the first recited only nine lines; the second, eight; the third, many, intermingled with Phaedra's address; the fourth, many, with no interruption; the fifth, few; the sixth, many; the seventh, not many; the eighth, many. In the *Alcestis* there are also eight, not very unlike those just mentioned; in the *Iphigenia in Tauris*, apparently six; and in *The Trojan Women* it is hard to tell how many. Now the choral parts should be of suitable length: observe that the first chorus of *Iphigenia in Tauris* carries more than a hundred and fifty verses, and in the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus you will find more than two hundred. Nor is one to forget that the subject-matter of the chorus is to be derived from the nature of the plot, either of the play as a whole, or of the circumstances of place, person, and the like, in the immediate context. This rule is best observed by Euripides, but is neglected by Sophocles. The chorus does not always sing, but sometimes speaks, either in con-

cert or through an individual. Thus we see them speak in iambs and engage in dialogues. So, on the other hand, we see the actors holding converse with the chorus and with each other in the kind of lines usually assigned to choruses. The dramatist may assign any measure that he pleases to the chorus. Sophocles preferred the anapaest, for in his extant works the trochee is rare, though you find it in *Oedipus the King*, where he uses it to close his play. Euripides and Aeschylus use the trochee more commonly. It is a custom of the chorus not yet mentioned to bring in two iambic verses after any long address. At the end of a play the anapaestic, acatalectic, tetrameters are most often used. The last trimeter is for the most part hypercatalectic, though this is not an invariable practice, as appears in the *Iphigenia in Aulis*. One poet very facetiously brought several of his plays to a close with the same sentiment in the same little verses :

Τῶν δ' ἀδυνάτων πόρον εὔρε θεός,
Τοιόν δ' ἀπέβη τόδε πράγμα.

'But the god hath brought impossible things to pass. Such hath been the outcome of this affair.' You find these lines in his *Alcestis*, *Andromache*, *Bacchae*, and *Helen*.

✓ Again, the function of the chorus is manifold. Sometimes the chorus ministers comfort, sometimes it bewails; it also blames, predicts, expresses wonder, passes judgment, admonishes, learns that it may teach, makes choices, hopes, and doubts. In a word, its special function is to delineate character and express emotion. Aristotle denied the use of antistrophes to the tragic choruses because their office was not simple narration, but imitation. Hence those rules which we called *nomes* he refused to recognize as applying to them. Singing he conceded, but not the hypodorian and hypophrygian modes, because he held that harmonies of that sort did not well comport with the rules of song, which is the properest medium for the chorus. But

because, as we said above, the peculiar function of the chorus is to delineate character, he thought the so-called phrygian mode, as most perfectly fitted for the representation of character, to be preëminently suited to the chorus. Again, Aristotle denied to the chorus the use of the hypodorian, because, as we remark in its own proper place, this was lofty and tranquil, and neither loftiness nor tranquility befits choruses. The citharists, on the other hand, preferred this mode to all others. To stage-action, as having to do with kings and heroes, he thought the hypodorian mode especially appropriate. But the phrygian suited more lowly persons, of whom choruses are made up. Their lowly station explains why their spirits stooped to sorrowful bewailings in songs which are averse to passionate agitation. The hypophrygian, on the contrary, went well with Bacchanalian bouts and brawls. Since, then, the chorus was an indifferent guardian—for so I interpret his *κηδευτῆς ἀπρακτος*—of the events and their results, a mode that is full of bustle, or, as the vulgar dolts have it, a *killing* mode, such as the hypodorian or hypophrygian, Aristotle thought not suited to it. You see a chorus professes only feelings of good-will toward all with whom it has to do. In short, Aristotle's precaution was that the song itself, by its very nature soft and gentle, should not be made harsh and stormy. ✓

That which was stated in our First Book as to the prologue, does not hold of a prologue in tragedy, for tragedy has not a separate prologue as has comedy, but it does hold of the part called protasis, a part of which we have an illustration in the *Andria*, a play of Terence. They say that Euripides was very particular to have this part and the argument recited, and it is certain that you do find such a prologue in many of his plays. However, in the *Rhesus*—if indeed the *Rhesus* is his—there is no prologue. So much for the parts and the law and technique of tragedy, which, as we said, ought not to be simple, nor, on the other hand,

unnatural. Aeschylus is blamed for the latter fault. For example, in a certain scene he has Achilles remain seated, and in another has Niobe concealed, without giving either anything to say. This was a mere trick, his rivals claim, to keep the spectators in suspense, and to keep them guessing what in the world was going to happen, or what would be said when once the silence was broken. Thus, as they add, the play would be kept going, though at the expense of an unpleasant disappointment. Here some one may object that the idea of pleasure is embodied in the definition of poetry, but that in tragedy are sorrow, grief, wailing, and misery, which cannot please. But to this it is to be said that pleasure does not reside in joy alone, but in everything fitted to instruct, and that the spectator does receive instruction. Thus a picture may contain ugly faces, but none the less do we look at it and enjoy it.

Comedies were not all of one character, for provided they amused, nothing more was wanted. We have proof of this in Epicharmus, of whom, according to Horace, Plautus was a diligent imitator. If Apollodorus and Menander were like their imitator Terence, they certainly were too tame; hence the statement that in the judgment of the people Menander was often surpassed by Philemon is not improbable. In fact there were judges by whose decision the palm was given to the victor in those public contests where several poets competed. Hesiod says that he won in such a contest, and in the parabasis and epirrhema Aristophanes often expresses the hope of victory. In the annotations to the *Peace* of Aristophanes it is stated that the judges were called *παβδοῦχοι*. Elsewhere we have stated that the judges in these contests were called *αἰσινμνηταί*,¹ and I incline to the opinion of those who say that the former were a class of magistrates similar to the aediles or to the apparitors of the aediles, and that their business was to take care that nothing out of the way should occur among the spectators,

¹ I. 24.

and that each should keep his own seat. Martial mentions such an officer, one Oceanus.

In the Old Comedy the subject-matter was wholly fictitious, facetious, sarcastic, abusive, so that at every word occasion was taken to deride. How much others than Aristophanes achieved in this line is not known, because nothing of theirs is extant. How he excelled in this appears sufficiently from his writings. Scarcely a word is spoken by any one which is not designed to injure somebody. Every event is reproach and censure, or derision, of the man against whom the play is directed. What laughter in the *Clouds* at the burning of Phrontisterius! What reversal of fortune in youth and old age for Plutus, most prosperous of men! What public disgrace for Cleon and Lamachus! Since many of the spectators favored Euripides, others Aeschylus, what intense anticipation of the decision of Liber in the choice of a tragic poet! What care by the poet not to offend the people, with whom Sophocles undeniably had very great weight! Indeed the very meaning of the sentiments is always ambiguous, so that one interpretation makes a passage complimentary, the opposite derogatory. For example, Aeschylus once said that in the death of Euripides tragedy also died. Do you ask if the statement was equivocal? Obviously it can be taken to mean that after Euripides no tragic poet remained, but that is contrary to fact. Now the Athenian people knew that after the death of Euripides the plays of Aeschylus alone were represented, so that his own poems were even then living.

Laughter is often caused by parody, when serious verse is so changed as to become ridiculous. I give as an example one line from *The Acharnians*. In the judgment of arms in Aeschylus Thetis is called 'mistress of fifty Nereids'; now by substituting an eel for Thetis, Aristophanes made the line read 'chief of fifty eels of Copais.' In like manner the passage where Lamachus requests arms of his servant is parodied at the expense of Dicaeopolis. Dicaeopolis was

a man who would fain deride military life for its inconveniences, and denounce it for its carnage, and would therefore exert his influence to secure peace. So in a passage of the same number of lines, and of almost the same number of words, he calls, not for arms, but for cooking utensils. You see of course a superficial similarity of deed, but an actual disparity as great as that between anxiety to live and desire to die. And now let each by himself either choose from the same author like cases for imitation, or invent new ones for others to imitate. I wrote such a play once myself, and called it *The Old Man*. In it I robbed a Dutch bell of its din, and invented novelties enough to suffice for not one Erasmus only, but for seven.

This old style of play largely accounts for the origin of the mime, for the difference between them is slight. The Old Comedy was allowed to introduce all kinds of characters, and there was no objection to having four characters speak in the same scene. Or you may note how Aristophanes in *The Frogs* revives a corpse, and makes it talk. Think how many characters appear, one after another, in the closing scenes of the *Plutus*, in *The Birds*, where even Mercury himself appears, and in others as well. Nay, not only does the parabasis, the epirrhema, or the antirrhema speak to the people, but in the colloquial parts even the stage-actors themselves. Although the later comedy is more restrained, this practice is followed in *The Merchant* and other plays. In the plays of Plautus the actors converse with the audience, obviously without offense. Forsooth, this interchange was not to learn purity of speech, but to relax the mind with laughter and jests. So it resulted that the very choice diction and high art of Terence were less in favor than the drollery of many comic poets. Those admirers of Terence who prefer him to those poets whom Volcatius Sedigitus called his superiors, do not make the worst of blunders, though they do not altogether see the point. But why give my opinion when we have

Cicero's judgment that the speech of Atilius was iron and stone? I think it clear that each of the poets satisfied his own times as respects the art of speaking, but that, taking into account the subject-matter, Terence is clearly lacking in spirit. Why then do we make more of him than of Plautus? For the reason that to-day we are most intent on the art of good speaking. Not only has the vast extension of our knowledge given us science, but invention has also brought us glory. Consequently Cicero is to-day held in highest esteem, while few care for Seneca. And yet a modicum of wisdom far excels the highest and best skill in speaking.

In the New Comedy marriages and loves have the chief place. Rivalries abound; virgins are bought from panderers that they may be free, and those found free are bought with a ring, an amulet, or a garden-plot, of father, mother, lover, or brother; and invariably the panderer is discomfited. But each may find for himself as many examples as he will, either from authors or from real life.

Comedy also differs from tragedy in the fact that while the latter takes both its subject-matter and its chief names from history, such as Agamemnon, Hercules, and Hecuba, in comedy all is fictitious, and names are assigned for the most part to suit the connection. As to episodes, they must not be regarded as belonging either to tragedy or to comedy exclusively, for Aristotle so names whatever is introduced aside from the announced plot. Thus the description of the vestment of Ariadne in Catullus, the birth of Camilla on the shield in Virgil, the enumeration of the chiefs in the *Philoctetes* of Sophocles, Io in the *Prometheus* of Aeschylus, and the fable of Europa and Hypermnestra in Horace, are all episodes.

IV. 2.

THE GRAND STYLE

Though Hermogenes classified *ideas* according to another principle, and others propagated his system, we are constrained to consider certain precepts which might have hindered or helped in the education of our poet. Let us then take up the different styles of poetic utterance, so combining precept and illustration that we may become familiar with the true theory of style.

We recognize three kinds of style, the grand or lofty (*altiloqua*), the humble (*infima*), and the mean of the two, which I please to call the moderate (*aequabilis*). Some properties are common to all of these, some are particular. Common properties are perspicuity (*perspicuitas*), refinement (*cultus*), propriety (*proprietas*), elegance or grace (*venustas*), and rhythm (*numerositas*). These qualities should inhere in every poem. Of the other common properties some are not invariably used, but subject to occasion, as smoothness (*mollitia*), winsomeness (*suavitas*), rapidity or spirit (*incitatio*), purity or unadornedness (*puritas*), acumen (*acutum*), sharpness or raillery (*acre*), fulness (*plenum*), and ornateness (*floridum*). As of the common properties, so of the particular, some should be employed always, others only on occasion. In the grand style those to be observed always are dignity (*dignitas*) and sonorousness (*sonus*); those to be used on occasion, ponderousness (*gravitas*) and fervency (*vehementia*). In the lowly style that to be observed always is plainness or artless purity (*tenuitas*); on occasion, simplicity (*simplicitas*) and negligence (*securitas*).¹ Those to be invariably observed in the

¹ In Chapter 25 these last properties are defined as follows: *Tenuitas orationis est puritas ex communi consuetudine loquendi. Simplicitas puritas non figurata. Securitas autem est firmitas propositi ad tenuitatem.* Cf. Quintilian II. 1. 93: *securitas in affectatae orationis.*

moderate style are roundness (*rotunditas*) and fluency (*volubilitas*). Such is our classification, and it is complete and invariable.

The grand style is that which portrays eminent characters and notable events. The sentiments are correspondingly choice, and they are couched in choice and euphonious diction. These eminent characters are gods, heroes, kings, generals, and citizens. If inferior characters, such as sailors, merchants, tradesmen, and hostlers are introduced, it is because when men associate together they constitute a society which has, as it were, the character of an organism, the members of which, according to the nature and end of their functions, share in its nature and office. It is the nature of the kingly office to be superior to others; its end is to govern. So the king's share will be preëminent strength and wisdom, and his office to apply his strength in affording protection, and his wisdom in governing. Notable events are wars in behalf of peace and concord, deliberative counsels, judicial decisions, the pursuit of heroic deeds, and whatever else is attendant upon these. Choice sentiments are those which abhor vulgarity; choice diction, that which is not trite; and pleasing language, that which marries sense and sound. Now all this we shall treat in its proper place, after we have considered the properties of the various styles, a task upon which we now enter.

IV. 4.

REFINEMENT

Refinement is that pruning which removes all grossness to give grace of style. It results in sentiments which leave much unexpressed, and the same may be said of the diction. Because of this its nature, some call it the pure or terse style (*tersus*). An example of refinement in the humble style is the following: 'The mother clasps the body of her luckless son, and calls the gods and the stars cruel.' In the moderate style let this be an example: 'He, with his hollow shell consoling the sickness of love, sang of you, sweet bride, by himself on the desert shore; of you when day was dawning, of you when it was passing away.' In the grand style is the following: 'But Evander no force can hold; he comes into the midst. When the bier is lowered, he throws himself on Pallas, there he clings weeping and groaning, and through excess of sorrow it is only hardly at last that a passage is forced for his voice.'

V. 3.

COMPARISON OF HOMER AND VIRGIL

The epithets of Homer are often cold, puerile, or pointless. Thus, what point is there in calling tearful Achilles 'fleet-footed?' On the other hand, when our poet calls Aeneas father, as he frequently does, the epithet has the same appropriateness as when applied to Jupiter: men venerate Jupiter, as Porphyry says, because he is the father of the entire human race, so Aeneas because the father of the Roman people. This relationship is explicitly stated in the passage: 'After him father Aeneas, the author of the Roman line.' Moreover, since Virgil wished to ingratiate his work with Augustus, it was desirable to touch upon the deeds of the emperor. This accounts for much that appears on the shield, and for such passages in Books 1, 3, and 6, as: 'And on the shores of Actium we celebrate the games of Troy.' But all that aside, we know that Augustus arrogated the epithet 'father' to himself, for we have a coin with the inscription *Augustus Pater*. So we might defend other passages in Virgil, some of which Macrobius has pitched upon and torn to pieces with the worst of judgment.

In the Sixth Book of the *Odyssey* occurs the following passage, already quoted once: 'I supplicate thee, O queen, whether thou art a goddess or a mortal! If indeed thou art a goddess of them that keep the wide heaven; to Artemis, then, the daughter of great Zeus, I mainly liken thee, for beauty and stature and shapeliness.' How much more distinguished is the corresponding passage in Virgil, where first doubt is expressed, and then confidence: 'Oh! by what name shall I call thee—virgin?' This speech shows her character. Then the cause of the uncertainty is revealed: 'for thy countenance is not mortal.' This clause shows her appearance. The next is still stronger: 'and the tones of

thy voice are more than human'; and then there is a repetition of the assertion: 'ah, thou art a goddess surely.' He then expresses religious veneration, and avoids offense by modestly doubting whether she is 'Phoebus' sister, or one of the race of nymphs.' For you must know that it was impious to call a god or goddess by any other than his right name, and implied an unanswered prayer, a point on which Livy informs us. This explains why the name of the tutelary god of Rome was secret and unspoken. Finally he likens her to Diana, for he plainly means Diana when he speaks of 'Phoebus' sister.'

In the Fourteenth Book of the *Iliad*, Hera entreats Sleep to cause Jove to slumber, and as an incentive promises him a seat on which he may sit at festivals. Poor Sleep! who prior to this time was forced like a soldier to take his meals standing: 'Sleep, lord of all gods and of all men.' Now the natural philosophers themselves will not hold this to be the law of nature, for who would say that the Prime Mover, the First Cause, sleeps? Yet Homer's words are, 'of all the gods.' Since sleep is given to repair vitality, if the Homeric gods must sleep, they are also subject to death. From such gods Homer himself could not receive good health. Juno further adds: 'Nay come, and I will give thee one of the younger of the Graces, to wed and to be called thy wife, even Pasithea, that even thou longest for all thy days.' It does not please me to have the Graces given in marriage to Sleep, for grace need never sleep.

Again, *ὄπνιέμεναι* (to be wed) is a shameful word to put in Juno's mouth, for *ὄπνιεν* (to wed) sometimes means the venereal act itself, as in the reference to the mother of Gorgythion, in the Eighth Book of the *Iliad*.

Our poet is more happy in saying 'that in return for such favor as this, she may pass all her years with thee, and make thee the father of a lovely race.' She does not promise simply the delights of love, which are bestial, but offspring, for which marriage was instituted. Moreover the proposal of Hera is nugatory: 'If ever thou didst hear my word,

obey me again even now, and I will be grateful to thee always'; but our Juno more winsomely appeals to Aeolus, since she courts his good-will by recognizing his power: 'For thee the father of gods and king of men has appointed both to calm the waves, and again to lift them with the wind.'

In Homer, Sleep replies to Hera; Aeolus, in Virgil. Sleep says: 'Hera, goddess queen, daughter of mighty Kronos, say the thing that is in thy mind; my heart bids me fulfil it, if fulfil it I may, and if it may be accomplished.' Surely this is altogether commonplace, for any clever person could make a promise of that sort. Not so ours: 'Thy work, O queen, is to discover what thou choosest; it is my duty with zeal to perform what thou dost command.' For men can talk of doing what they 'may,' but duty is the divine law of the gods, whose divinity is fate. 'Thy commands are fate.' How chaste, how noble, how simple, the thought! 'Thine it is to order, mine to obey.'

The tempest in the Fifth Book of the *Odyssey*, passages from which we have quoted above, is finely worded, but in other respects is inferior to the corresponding passage in our epic. Homer says: 'With that he gathered the clouds and troubled the waters of the deep, grasping his trident in his hand; and he roused all storms of all manner of winds, and shrouded in clouds the land and the sea: and down sped night from heaven. The East Wind and the South Wind clashed, and the stormy West, and the North, that is born in the bright air, rolling onward a great wave.' Divine language this, I say, but only an imperfect description of a tempest. Virgil perfectly combines brilliant diction and adequate description: 'And lo! the winds, as though in formed line, rush forth where a passage is allowed them (you hear the very rushing in the words used), and blow with a blast across the world. In an instant they swoop upon the sea, and East, and South, and gusty South-west together lash up the whole main from its lowest depths, and roll to the shore huge billows. Then follow the shouts of the sailors, and the creaking of the cables. Suddenly the

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clouds rob the eyes of the Trojans of sky and light together; sable night broods o'er the deep.'

In Homer's description, the 'clashing' of the winds signifies motion only, but here the business of the winds is given; there the clouds were 'gathered,' here they 'lash up the whole main from its lowest depths;' there Poseidon 'shrouded in clouds the land and the sea,' here 'suddenly the clouds rob the eyes of the Trojans of sky and light together.' Further, Zephyr is not a violent wind, deserving to be called 'stormy' and especially is this true in Greece. Then the epithet 'born in the bright air' seems inconsistent with the expression 'shrouded in clouds,' and demands a good deal of explanation. Although the North Wind brings clear weather, in the *Odyssey* it is an ill wind, bearing clouds. Surely this is not pleasing. Virgil adds a consummate touch in the expression, 'the poles thunder.' He does not say that the 'sky' thunders. Then you get, do you not, the impression of thunder and lightning together, when he adds that 'the firmament glitters with frequent flashes.' The very thinness in the sound of the successive words (*crebris micat ignibus aether*) visualizes the cleft in the air. Finally, how much suffering is implied in the potent words 'all,' 'threatens,' and 'instant' ('all nature threatens the mariners with instant death')! Homer was satisfied with his few details, but not so that divine poet, who secures a certain universality by his minuteness.

Virgil now adds the wind hitherto omitted: 'Roaring from the North came a squall, striking the sail full, lifting the waves to heaven. The oars are shivered, then the prow swings round, exposed to the waves is the side of the ship; close in a mass comes on it a precipitous mountain-billow.' You have the sail, the prow, the side of the ship, and the immense wave. This wave the poet does not ostentatiously name, as do our later Latin poets, but he defines it by using the figure of a mountain.

For the rest, the picture is one of varied detail: 'Some of the ships hang on the crest of the waves; beneath others

the yawning water lays bare the ground between the ridges of the sea.' Virgil even ventures on repetition by adding: 'the surging flood rages mingled with the sand.' I do not present the whole tempest here, but shall return to it in subsequent pages to institute further comparisons. We shall use it in discussing the Syrtes.

The lament of Odysseus follows the tempest: 'Then were the knees of Odysseus loosened, and his heart melted, and heavily he spoke to his own great spirit.' How much more expressive are the words of Aeneas, which, by being directed to the gods and animated with fitting gesture, seem alive with feeling: 'He groans, and raising his clasped hands to the stars!' And the lament itself, 'O blessed, ever blessed they,' etc., is nobler than the words of Odysseus: 'Thrice blessed those Danaans, yea, four times blessed, who perished on a time in wide Troy-land, doing a pleasure to the sons of Atreus! Would to God that I too had died, and met my fate on that day when the press of Trojans cast their bronze-shod spears upon me, fighting for the body of the son of Peleus! So should I have gotten my due of burial, and the Achaeans would have spread my fame; but now it is my fate to be overtaken by a pitiful death.' This is all subdued. But what feeling Virgil arouses! Placed 'before their sires' eyes' ('O blessed, ever blessed they, whose lot it was before their sires' eyes beneath Troy's lofty walls to die'). The scene is before mine as well. Then note the apostrophe, with its elegiac praise of Tydeus, and the majestic advance in the words, 'There lies valiant Hector slain by the spear of Aeacides,' and the spirit in the verses: 'There was slain stout Sarpedon, there Simois bore swiftly beneath his stream and rolled along so many shields and helmets and bodies of the brave.' In the closing scenes of the tempest Virgil again surpasses Homer, and no wonder, for Homer has Odysseus alone and on a raft.

Similar observations may be made on the other like episodes in Homer, as on the trifling lines in Book Nine: 'Thus

the ships were driven headlong, and their sails were torn to shreds by the might of the wind'; and in Book Twelve, where the account is trivial and superficial: 'And the ship ran on her way for no long while, for of a sudden came the shrilling West, with the rushing of a great tempest, and the blast of wind snapped the two forestays of the mast, and the mast fell backward and all the gear dropped into the bilge. And behold, on the hind part of the ship the mast struck the head of the pilot and brake all the bones of his skull together, and like a diver he dropt down from the deck, and his brave spirit left his bones'; and further, after the lightning: 'And lo, my company fell from out the vessel. Like sea-gulls they were borne round the black ship upon the billows.' So writes Homer, with which compare the following: 'Before the chieftain's eyes a mighty sea strikes from above on the stern; forth is dashed out rolled into the sea the helmsman.' Homer dwells upon the breaking of the bones of the pilot, but our poet substitutes: 'Whilst thrice in the same place the billow whirls the ship, and drives it round and round, and the devouring eddy swallows it in the sea.' Then he omits the pedantic comparison as inapt, and the insignificant expression, 'were borne . . . upon the billows,' is replaced by 'scattered here and there they are seen floating in the wide water.' Note how the words 'scattered' and 'in the wide water' define the fury of the sea. Servius is wrong in calling this a depreciation, a trifling description of a great phenomenon, and in saying the *vastus* ('wide,' in the expression *in gurgite vasto*) is added because *gurgēs* signifies calm water. This is quite incorrect, for *gurgēs* means any swiftly-running water; it is the Greek γοργός (*rough, wild, spirited*). Indeed, the very nature of the spondaic metre illustrates the difficulty of swimming.

In the Sixth Book of the *Odyssey* occur these lines, which are repeated in the Thirteenth: 'Woe is me! to what man's land am I come now? say, are they froward, and wild, and unjust, or are they hospitable, and of God-fearing mind?

How shrill a cry of maidens rings round me!' The following passage is shorter, for the occasion is different, yet it is most charming: 'As soon as the genial light of day was granted, determined forth to go, and explore the strange lands, to find what coast had driven him to, who possessed it, men or beasts—for he sees all uncultivated—and then to carry back to his comrades the report of his search.' This passage, and that in the Tenth Book of the *Odyssey*, furnish material for an interesting comparison. Aeneas seizes his bow, while of Odysseus it is said: 'Then did I seize my spear and my sharp sword, and quickly departing from the ship I went up unto a place of wide prospect, if happily I might see any sign of the labour of men and hear the sound of their speech.' There he slays a deer, but Aeneas, on his part, slays a herd. The Virgilian passage surpasses the Homeric in splendor as much as in the number of deer slain, for compare the speech, 'My comrades, ye who know we are not unversed in ill ere now,' with the speech of Odysseus: 'Friends, for all our sorrows we shall not yet a while go down to the house of Hades, ere the coming of the day of destiny; go to then; while as yet there is meat and drink in the swift ship, let us take thought thereof, that we be not famished for hunger.'

A passage in the Twelfth Book of the *Odyssey* comes nearer to the Virgilian sentiment: 'Friends, forasmuch as in sorrow we are not all unlearned, truly this is no greater woe that is upon us, than when Cyclops penned us by main might in his hollow cave.' But our passage is both stronger and more embellished. Virgil speaks of many things, but most beautiful are the lines: 'Recall your spirits and hope'; 'Endure hardness and reserve yourselves for better days'; 'Perchance the day will come, when the memory even of this will be a pleasure.' Thus he proposes that they gain solace from their perils, for nothing gives more pleasure than the memory of perils escaped, and of triumph over danger.

Also, if the mode of feasting here, and in the Third and Seventh Books of the *Aeneid*, be compared with that in the Tenth and Twelfth Books of the *Odyssey* and the First and Ninth Books of the *Iliad*, Homer will be found diffuse and prolix, Virgil more picturesque and precise. Compare Homer's 'and pierced it through with spits,' with Virgil's 'and fixed them quivering on the spits.' Nay, more, with divine judgment, among such details as, 'Some strip the skin off the ribs,' Virgil inserts that refined sentiment, 'They express their regret for the friends they have lost.'

Not less exalted praise is Virgil's when we observe his imitation of the lines from the Ninth Book of the *Odyssey*, which run, 'I am Odysseus, son of Laertes, who am in men's minds for all manner of wiles, and my fame reaches unto heaven.' 'I am the pious Aeneas,' he tells us first of all, 'who rescued from the foe my household gods, and in my fleet carry them with me.' He does not rashly babble about his prowess, for he is both a pious man and a brave. His bravery was shown by rescuing his gods from the foe, his constancy in carrying them with him, and his prudence in taking them in his ship.

When the disgusting grammarians abuse Virgil for the line, 'I am known by fame above the sky', they ought rather to condemn Homer for saying, 'My fame reaches unto heaven'; especially since it is a question if the fame of any man's woes is able to reach clear to heaven. But it is right that the renown of our hero, who had delivered his household gods from servitude, who was protecting them, and carrying them to the place to which the command of the gods and the oracles of the gods directed, should be known in the abode of the gods. Homer's words hardly bear comparison with those of Virgil. One cannot explain it, but it is the distinctive excellence of Virgil always to be august.

Upon the lines in the Seventh Book of the *Odyssey*, 'Tis hard, O queen, to tell my griefs from end to end, for that the gods of heaven have given me griefs in plenty', Virgil builds the superstructure: 'O goddess, if I were to go back

to the first beginning, and tell the tale throughout, and thou hadst leisure to hear the story of our disasters, before I had ended, Vesper would close Olympus, and lay the day to rest.' The effect of 'from end to end' is heightened by 'back to the first beginning,' and 'if thou hadst leisure'; the effect of 'griefs in plenty' by 'to hear the story of our disasters'; and the expression, 'tis hard', is most brilliantly defined by the verse, 'Vesper would close Olympus, and lay the day to rest.' The difficulty is due to the long series of events. When he comes to narrate these events, Virgil again far surpasses Homer.

In the Ninth Book of the *Odyssey* we read: 'But now thy heart was inclined to ask of my grievous troubles, that I may mourn for more exceeding sorrow. What then shall I tell of first, what last, for the gods of heaven have given me woes in plenty.' Virgil, on the other hand, writes these divine and immutable verses: 'Ineffable, O queen, is the sorrow you bid me revive; how the Greeks utterly destroyed the power of Troy and her woeful realm.' Thus he places in his introduction the seeds of those thoughts which he will develop in his narrative. The grievous troubles are not his alone, so he first sets forth the common woe, and then tells of his own. Thus he first declares the wretchedness of the Trojans, and then explains the cause, 'the woeful realm destroyed', and does not straightway take refuge, as does Homer, in the hackneyed complaint that the gods are the authors of evil. Then 'the sad sights I have myself beheld'; not only beheld, but which I suffered, and of which I was a part. Yea, a great part. Then with a question he sets forth the suffering of his countrymen, when he asks what enemy of theirs could refrain from tears in telling such a tale. Lastly, he says that the time of day makes the telling more difficult. Surely all this was not done without the aid of that divine excellence of his; so that Virgil seems not so much to have imitated Homer as to have taught us how Homer should have written.

VII. I. 3.

WHETHER THE POET TEACHES CHARACTER
OR ACTION

Of well-governed conduct there is, as it were, a definite form, which the philosophers call right reason. Is there any form of evil conduct? No, there is not. But in the absence of such form we are either bad or else indifferent. What then does the poet teach? Does he teach actions, which arise from mental states or dispositions, the *διαθέσεις* of the Greeks? Or does he teach us how to become such men that the faculty of doing good is potent, and the principle of avoiding evil conduct is implanted?

Aristotle ruled that since poetry is comparable to that civic institution which leads us to happiness, happiness being nothing other than perfect action, the poet does not lead us to imitate character, but action. Surely he is right; we agree perfectly. But what he adds offers a little more difficulty. He says that there cannot be a tragedy without action, though there may be one without disposition. Under the circumstances, I would here translate *ἦθος* by 'character,' for he says that the tragic poets of his day usually constructed plots that lacked delineation of character. Thus Zeuxis the painter gave no expression of character in his work, and Polygnotus excelled in character-drawing. But if now *ἦθος* means 'an inclination to a certain course of action,' and this is excluded from tragedy, the action will be altogether fortuitous, and wholly dependent on chance. To illustrate: Orestes once committed murder by slaying his mother. Yet here there is no question of character, for it was not a characteristic action. On the other hand, Aegisthus was a murderer in character, and so were Polymnestor, Pylades, Euclio, Pseudolus, Ballio,

and Davus. So our inquiry is not as to whether the poet teaches character or action, but as to whether he teaches a mental disposition, or the outward expression of it. Though many things are done contrary to character, they are not done without our being disposed to do them. The result of the inquiry is, then, that the poet teaches mental disposition through action, so that we embrace the good and imitate it in our conduct, and reject the evil and abstain from that. Action, therefore, is a mode of teaching; disposition, that which we are taught. Wherefore action is, as it were, the pattern or medium in a plot, disposition its end. But in civil life action is the end, and disposition its *form*.

If any one thinks that our distinctions are more subtle than the subject warrants, he need not take it to heart; he will find it very easy to leave the whole matter alone.

Aristotle was also illogical in attributing to tragedy alone that which was the common property of poetry, just as when he formulated metrical laws from words and the parts of words, and afterwards ignored those very laws themselves.

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[c. is the abbreviation for cited, q. for quoted.]

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- P. 7. *For* Diotimas *read* Diotima.
- P. 16. l. 21. *Insert* In the third class are all those whom I shall discuss presently.
- P. 24. *For* Lacaedemon *read* Lacedaemon.
- P. 44. " Phillipides *read* Philippides.
- " Epicrates, Ambraciota *read* Epicrates the Ambraciot.
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- P. 84. *Delete* Ambraciota, poet of Middle Comedy, 44.
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